Hoover's Folly—*An Editorial*

THE Nation

December 30, 1950

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE
The Chances of Peace

*

Beginning Three Articles from Inside Spain

What Price Franco?

I. The Tin Soldiers

BY BASIL DAVIDSON

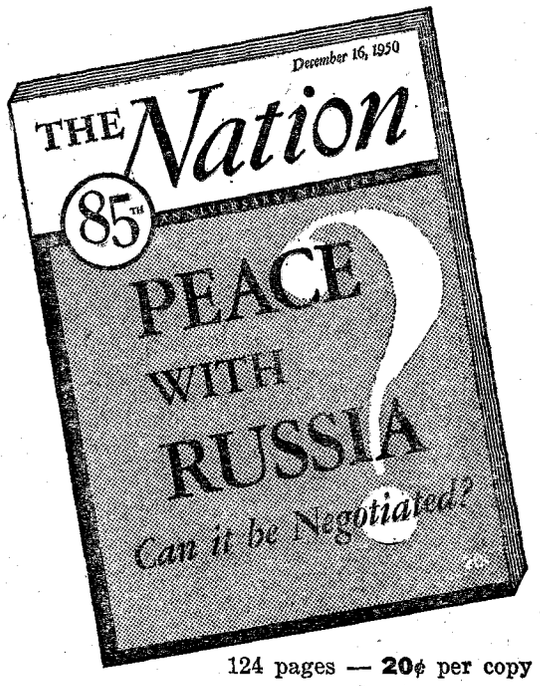
*

Lost Boundaries?

BY JERRY TALLMER

20 CENTS A COPY · EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865 · 7 DOLLARS A YEAR

JAN 3 1951 Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



124 pages — **20¢** per copy

TO INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS

- We believe this important issue deserves the widest possible distribution.
- A limited stock is still available for either single copy or bulk sale.
- Because of the high production cost of this issue, the price cannot be reduced for copies in bulk
- We urge you to place your order while the supply lasts.
- Fill in and mail the convenient order form today.

Convenient Order Form

THE NATION
20 VESEY STREET • NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Please send me, post-free, _____ copies of *The Nation's* 85th Anniversary Issue, at 20¢ per copy. I enclose my remittance of $_____.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

12/30/50

What *They* Say About THE *Nation's* 85th Anniversary Number:

"I think it is a matter of deep regret that the current 85th anniversary issue of *The Nation* will not be available to the youth in New York City's public schools. The entire issue is devoted to the subject 'Peace With Russia—Can It Be Negotiated?' Our youth everywhere, including New York, who are so disturbed about our present world, should have the opportunity to read those intelligent articles."

Estelle M. Sternberger
NEWS COMMENTATOR, STATION WLIB

"I have just had a chance to glance through the 85th anniversary issue of *The Nation.* It is a knockout. More strength to you in the days ahead. We will all need some of it."

Dewey Anderson
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
PUBLIC AFFAIRS INSTITUTE

"That's the finest issue of *The Nation* I've ever seen. Congratulations . . . for this achievement, one that will contribute, I am sure, to peace and security."

Henry Steele Commager
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

"Warmest congratulations to you on the 85th anniversary number of *The Nation.* It is a fine job."

Bartley C. Crum
MEMBER OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE AND RECIPIENT OF 1949 ONE WORLD AWARD

"The current issue of *The Nation* is superb. In my opinion, there has been nothing like it since Villard's editorial on the *Madness of Versailles.*"

Arthur Upham Pope
CHANCELLOR, THE ASIA INSTITUTE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 171 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • DECEMBER 30, 1950 NUMBER 27

The Shape of Things

THE FUNDS NEEDED TO TIDE YUGOSLAVIA over its present food shortage have been voted, though not without some clamor for helping Chiang Kai-shek first and demanding conditions of Tito. They were voted because General Omar Bradley's references to Yugoslavia's "thirty divisions" were not lost on Congress and because the Belgrade government is demonstrating every day its desire to move closer to the West. Nothing could have provided more convincing evidence of this than Ales Bebler's unequivocal support of the Security Council resolution condemning Chinese intervention in Korea. The speech no doubt reflected not only Tito's views on aggression in general but the danger of physical attack by Yugoslavia's Cominform neighbors. Russia, not "Western imperialism," is the actual imminent threat. Since Milovan Djilas, Tito's propaganda chief, described the schism between Belgrade and Moscow as "unbridgeable" and the Russian regime as "monstrous even compared to bourgeois democracy," the chance that American wheat will nourish Stalinist plots seems hardly worth worrying about. This is not to say that Yugoslavia itself is on the way to becoming a "bourgeois democracy." It will hang on to its revolution with full resolve, both because its leaders are in fact Communists and because any retreat toward the past would destroy the very basis of its resistance to Moscow. Tito's case against Stalin is that the Soviet leader tried to subordinate both Yugoslavia's revolution and its economic existence to the interests of Russia. Not only on account of its thirty divisions but precisely because it insists on remaining a Communist regime, is Yugoslavia important to the West. For many people outside the confines of Tito's republic are watching to see whether the price of American food and money will be the extinction of revolution in Europe's one anti-Stalinist Communist state.

*

THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE CHARGE OF subversive activity against Anna M. Rosenberg, Assistant Secretary of Defense, led to a remarkable scramble by those responsible for the accusation to get themselves off the hook. Fulton Lewis, Jr., the broadcaster, finally began to admit that nothing was yet proved against Mrs. Rosenberg and expressed alarm at the "specter of anti-Semitism" involved in the charges—although Lewis's leg man, Edward Nellor, made a preliminary investigation of the accusations. Senator McCarthy, whose own investigator, Don Surine, worked with Nellor, anxiously announced that he would vote for Mrs. Rosenberg's confirmation and disclaimed any desire to persecute the innocent. When the two wretched anti-Rosenberg witnesses, Ralph De Sola and Benjamin Freedman, were discredited by responsible testimony, Lewis, McCarthy and Company ran like rabbits. This, however, seems something less than complete justice. For weeks Mrs. Rosenberg's peace of mind and soul was shaken by baseless accusations rooted in the psychotic anti-Semitism promoted by Gerald L. K. Smith and Representative John Rankin of Mississippi. During the early part of the hearings De Sola and Freedman had the use of McCarthy's office. Before he suddenly discovered that De Sola was a liar, Lewis repeated the De Sola charges night after night and predicted the possibility of another "Hiss trial." A radio rabble-rouser has some responsibility, surely, to be sure that his facts are right before he broadcasts them. That Lewis and McCarthy failed to get away with the smearing of Anna Rosenberg does not mean that their last-minute crocodile tears should be taken seriously, or that they will not try to crucify some other official at the earliest opportunity.

*

THE COMMITTEE OF EDUCATORS WHICH advised General Hershey that "superior" college students should in effect be exempted from the draft might have been expected to produce a more thoughtful plan after two years of discussion. General Hershey's advisers made a gesture in the direction of fairness by suggesting that "superior" draftees, hauled into the service because they lacked money enough to go to college, might also be assigned to complete their educations rather than shoulder guns. But the basic plan clearly contemplates creation of an aristocracy of draft-proof students selected on the basis of aptitude tests and from the economically most fortunate groups. The dumb young men—those who are not in college and do not score brilliantly on aptitude tests—can do the fighting; the others can stay safely on the campus and pursue their studies, after which they would go into uniform only if their "superior" professional knowledge did not make them more useful elsewhere. No such program is necessary to avoid the waste of brilliant young physicists and engineers in foxholes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 685
Hoover's Folly 688

ARTICLES

The Warm Freeze *by Willard Shelton* 689
What Price Franco? I. The Tin Soldiers *by Basil Davidson* 691
The Vatican Defeats the U. N. *by Lillie Shultz* 693
The Chances of Peace *by Jean-Paul Sartre* 696
Lost Boundaries? *by Jerry Tallmer* 700
Everybody's Business: Commodity Scramble *by Keith Hutchison* 703

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Edna St. Vincent Millay: 1892-1950 *by Rolfe Humphries* 704
The Anthropological Fallacy *by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.* 705
Bi-Focal *A Poem by William Stafford* 705
Recent Fiction *by Ernest Jones* 706
The Investigators Investigated *by M. R. Werner* 707
The Man of Brumaire *by Crane Brinton* 708
Céline's Journey Continued *by Eliezer Greenberg* 708
Books in Brief 709
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 709
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 710

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 711

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 393 *by Frank W. Lewis* 712

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Maxwell S. Stewart
J. King Gordon, Ralph Bates, Andrew Roth

Business & Advertising Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1950, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

The Committee on the Present Danger, headed by Dr. James B. Conant and Dr. Vannevar Bush, is surely not ignorant of the value of brains, but it is also aware of the basic importance of equality of sacrifice. Its proposal is that all youths as they graduate from high school or turn eighteen should be immediately liable to two years of military service, after which they can continue their educations. Another possibility is that the services could assign "superior" young men to college, if that is where the aptitude tests indicate they should be, but only after they have been drafted and put in uniform. If the Republic is in danger, the basic responsibility of every young man is exactly the same; to take his turn in uniform according to his abilities.

✶

WHEN JOE R. HANLEY FAILED TO WIN New York's Senatorial race on November 7, Governor Dewey, who has been wont to pose as a political Galahad, found himself impaled on the horns of an unethical dilemma. If he failed to find a well-paying job for his running-mate, in accordance with the much-publicized "iron-clad unbreakable arrangement" by which he had induced Mr. Hanley to forgo his gubernatorial ambitions, the Governor would have appeared as a double-cosser on whose word no politician could rely; if he kept his promise, he would be revealed as a man who paid private debts of honor out of public funds. There was only one possible escape from this dilemma: Mr. Dewey and the friends who were so anxious to keep him at Albany might have raised a private fund to provide for the aging and ailing Mr. Hanley. However, such a move would have been unorthodox to the point of eccentricity, as well as expensive, and Mr. Dewey, faithful to the traditions of political jobber, "suggested" Mr. Hanley as special counsel to the State Division of Veterans Affairs at a cool $16,000 a year. This new post was created and filled just in time. Three days later Governor Dewey, ordering an "austerity economy" for the state, specifically directed that "no new position, however desirable or even necessary at ordinary times, be allowed in any department or agency."

✶

ONE OF THE DISAGREEABLE SPECTACLES THAT the Eighty-first Congress has offered us is a handful of Southern Senators blocking action on bills, approved by the House, which would grant statehood to Alaska and Hawaii. The time has long passed when either case could be discussed on its merits; the issue is now quite simply one of power. When times were peaceful it was argued that action should be deferred because there was no immediate urgency; today it is said that we should wait until "more normal times" have returned. Interested peoples, including those in Asia, can only conclude

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that we have not the slightest intention of conferring statehood on either territorial possession. The decisive factor is not that statehood would upset the balance of power on civil-rights legislation—although this influences the opposition—but that state governments in Alaska and Hawaii, as Senator Hugh Butler, ranking Republican member of the Insular Affairs Committee, has pointed out, might be dominated by labor. Right-wing Republicans and bourbon Democrats may have their occasional spats, but they can be expected to maintain an unshakable coalition against any measure which could give four votes to labor in the Senate.

✶

THE ARTICLE BY JEAN-PAUL SARTRE, The Chances of Peace, which appears on page 696, was originally intended for our Eighty-fifth Anniversary issue. Because it arrived after we had gone to press its publication had to be postponed. In the context of the anniversary issue no special word of explanation would have been necessary, for, as the foreword made plain, an effort had been made to secure "a many-sided answer to the most urgent question of our time: Can a settlement with Russia be reached through negotiation without sacrifice of democratic principle?" With the article appearing separately, however, it seems appropriate to point out M. Sartre makes certain points to which the editors of *The Nation* would take exception. We are nevertheless glad to present this trenchant analysis, which has considerable significance as a reflection of the thoughts of a great number of Frenchmen and other Western Europeans who are today unhappily pondering the dangers they—together with the rest of the world—face. Should the pessimism and defeatism that characterize M. Sartre's remarks seem without foundation in fact, we refer our readers to the policies advocated by former President Hoover in his recent speech.

✶

AT LONG LAST AN IMPORTANT CALIFORNIA newspaper chain has undertaken to cut Senator William F. Knowland down to size. For the last two years Senator Knowland has been the noisiest and often the silliest, spokesman of the China lobby in Washington; he has even taken a position on China contrary to those of such influential organizations as the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, in whose camp he is usually to be found. In fact, Senator Knowland's ardor for MacArthur and Chiang Kai-shek has been so unbridled as to arouse curiosity as to its real source. The McClatchy newspapers have now entered a protest against his behavior. "It would be an immense relief to the people of California," said the Fresno *Bee*, "if Senator William F. Knowland would cease and desist from sounding off belligerently on the Korean situation. No one is asking for his advice. He is not on General MacArthur's staff. He is not in the State Department or even a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He is not an adviser to General Omar Bradley. But to hear him talk would give the uninformed the impression that he is at once a master-strategist and a master-diplomat." Senator Knowland—by a major political error now California's "senior" Senator—should heed this warning; but even his temporary silence will not satisfy our curiosity as to the motivation for his passionate advocacy of the Kuomintang position.

✶

R. STANLEY DOLLAR, HEAD OF THE DOLLAR Steamship Lines, has perfected the technique of getting something for nothing. Back in 1924 he managed to purchase seven vessels which had cost the government $29,000,000 to build for $3,850,000—without a down payment. He received in that year a bonus of $192,500 in addition to his handsome salary as president of the company. By 1938 the company was bankrupt for reasons which have apparently been forgotten but which were clearly set forth by the Maritime Commission—namely, that millions had been siphoned from the parent company by a group of Dollar-controlled subsidiaries. As soon as the government became aware of what was being done, the the bankruptcy proceedings were instituted. Dollar then obligingly transferred 92 per cent of the company's Class A common stock to the government to satisfy a $7,500,000 indebtedness. Reorganized as the American President Lines, the company prospered greatly during the war, and by 1945 the old indebtedness was entirely liquidated. Dollar then started suit to recapture control of the company, now valued at $60,000,000, and the courts have just ruled that he is entitled to the return of the stock. Fortunately President Truman has directed Secretary of Commerce Sawyer not to reassign the stock, on the ground that the Department of Justice never

[For answer see page 689]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

consented to the original suit. Congress would be performing a public service if it pressed for a thorough investigation of the charges that undue influence was brought to bear on the Administration to interpose only a nominal defense to the original suit. For it was these charges, apparently, that prompted the President's action.

Hoover's Folly

I.

THIS has been a big week for world communism. In effect it has captured for its purposes Herbert Hoover and a good section of the Republican Party of the United States. No doubt the former President and those who have praised his speech—Senators Taft and Wherry and Messrs. Hearst and McCormick among them—still think of themselves as the arch-foes of the Cominform, but the line they are laying down for their country should set the bells ringing in the Kremlin as nothing has since the triumph of Stalingrad. Actually the line taken by *Pravda* is that the former President did not carry isolationism far enough.

What the "Hoover Doctrine" would do, if it were in fact national policy, would be to cut off at once all further aid to Europe—"not another man or another dollar." We would concentrate on "this Western Hemisphere Gibraltar" until such time as we felt that the people of Western Europe had displayed the "unity and will" to resist aggression by their own power, however devastated their economies might be by the sudden withdrawal of Marshall Plan assistance. We could not win a European war against Russia anyhow, according to Hoover—"sheer folly," "graveyard for millions," we would "never reach Moscow." The elder statesman draws our own cozy little world to include, specifically, Great Britain as our eastern rampart and Japan, Formosa, and the Philippines to mark the western boundary of our interest. Beyond this sphere the Russians would be free, for all we cared, to grab what they could get, including what they want most in the world—the industrial power of the Ruhr, Belgium, and France with which to combine the vast man-power of Russia and China.

What the "Hoover Doctrine" does now, even without national acceptance, is to serve notice on the countries of Western Europe and the mainland of Asia that we are gravely divided and that if they put their confidence in us they may be abandoned to the mercies of the Russians if the Republicans win the election two years from now.

We wish the Hoover speech could be regarded merely as the folly of a man long out of touch with reality. It is that, of course, with its casual assumption that the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, and the United Nations itself can be scrapped overnight; and that we can make ourselves impregnable to the degree that we strip ourselves of allies. But it is more sinister than that. The Hoover pronouncement is a rallying cry for all the discredited forces of isolationism, to all men who since Pearl Harbor have covertly nursed their infantile illusions of a hemispheric "Gibraltar" without having the courage to give them voice. Its appeal is to the provincial little souls who have always looked with a jaundiced eye on the U. N. and all its works.

There is a wild illogic in the fact that these are the same men who have been unceasingly at the throat of Dean Acheson. The Secretary of State, along with General Marshall and the President, they hold, is responsible for the loss of China to the Communists, and they are unmoved by the argument that we could not have aided Chiang Kai-shek more than we did because he was literally incapable of waging the only kind of fight that might have brought him victory. So Acheson must go. But they themselves are quite prepared to give the Russians nothing less than the rest of Asia and the whole continent of Europe on the ground that the countries affected don't seem up to stopping the Russians by their own strength. If this is the way the Tafts, the Wherrys, the Kems, and the Capeharts really think, then they can have no honest complaint against what they call the "betrayals" of Yalta and Potsdam.

Neither have these super-appeasers the shred of a case against Acheson, except the case for embarrassing the Administration. The sole virtue of the Hoover speech and the sympathetic echo it has found in the Senate is to make it clear that behind the war on Acheson there has been neither sense nor high purpose, however mistaken, but merely the blind and greedy struggle for partisan advantage. To serve the petty ends of politics these Republican Firsters have been ready to upset the system of checks and balances on which the American government rests, to sabotage a Secretary of State on the eve of a vital mission, and to show a world in crisis the face of American disunity. Here, in the heart of the Grand Old Party, is virtually a "clear and present danger."

II.

THE Brussels conference of the North Atlantic Council generated only a moderate amount of enthusiasm on both sides of the ocean. From the European point of view the one important step taken was the appointment of General Eisenhower to head the integrated defense forces of the nations adhering to the North Atlantic Pact: "Ike's diplomatic and military achievements in welding a victorious army remain very fresh in the minds of our allies. Moreover, his release for this service by the United States government was taken as a pledge of full American support for the defense of Europe, including eventually

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more than a token number of divisions in the international army which Eisenhower is to command.

It was not long, however, before whatever new confidence had been created in Brussels began to evaporate. In the first place, the reaction of West Germany almost immediately made it clear that the Council's "unanimous agreement regarding the part Germany might assume in the common defense" had not brought the German problem any nearer solution. That agreement was based on the compromise plan for the use of German troops in units of combat-team strength as part of a European army —the plan which represented the utmost concession the French government has felt able to make in view of legitimate French fears of German rearmament. Bonn, on the other hand, regards this proposal as totally unsatisfactory except as a starting point in negotiations from which it expects to win very great benefits.

Kurt Schumacher, leader of the Social Democrats in the West German Assembly, who has won much popular support for his campaign against rearmament, called the Brussels plan "completely unreal" and promised that any attempt to ratify it by the Bonn government would encounter the sharpest resistance. In this stand, it appears, he can count on the backing of a number of powerful groups in Germany—the genuine pacifists in the trade-union movement and the Evangelical church, the right-wing nationalists who want the "honor" of the German army restored and see no point in rearmament unless it is to pave the way for a war of revenge and recovery in the east, and, of course, the Communists. This opposition has stimulated Chancellor Adenauer's natural inclination to sell West German participation in the North Atlantic army at the highest possible price, and it is no surprise that he should have immediately begun a coy flirtation with the East German Republic as a reminder to the Western allies that he has some high trumps in his hand. Consequently, the reinforcements of Western Europe by German troops, a major feature in the United States design for the defense of the North Atlantic area, remains a distant prospect, unlikely to be realized except on terms which would pave the way for restoration of Germany as a dominant force in Europe.

Even more disturbing to Western Europe's confidence than the German reaction to Brussels has been ex-President Hoover's broadcast speech, with its clarion call for an American retreat behind the Maginot lines of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Europeans, noting the widespread support for this isolationist proposal inside the Republican Party, and to some extent outside it, were assailed by fears that it might herald a major reversal of American policy. Would President Truman, they wondered, find his program of military assistance to Western Europe blocked in the new Congress, with its enlarged Republican representation? And even if he overcame the threatened opposition, would this program survive the next Presidential election?

Mr. Hoover declared that "we should have none of appeasement," but inevitably his doctrine smells to Europeans not merely of isolationism but of appeasement. It seems to bring nearer that nightmare possibility to which R. H. S. Crossman, M. P., referred in *The Nation's* Eighty-fifth Anniversary issue—the possibility of "a horse-trading deal between a deeply reactionary American Administration and the Kremlin." Of course, Mr. Hoover and his friends will deny that they have anything of the sort in mind, but in fact the policy they are developing would be completely senseless unless it did envisage a deal with the Soviets. For an American government which seriously considered a return to isolation would have both the means and the motive for striking a sphere-of-influence bargain with Russia. It would have something of great value to offer to the Kremlin—future disinterest in the fate of Europe and Asia—and it would surely attempt to get something in return in the way of guaranties against Soviet interference in the Americas, arrangements for obtaining Asiatic raw materials, and so forth. The unusual attention paid by the Russian press to Hoover's speech—it was published in full by *Pravda*—certainly suggests that the Politburo scents the possibility of such a deal.

It appears, then, that one wing of the Republicans, claiming to be the fiercest opponents of communism, have dealt what may prove a deadly blow to democratic prestige the world over. They have afforded Moscow a wonderful opportunity to sow the seeds of doubt and dissension among our allies; they have encouraged the "neutralist" elements in Europe; they have weakened the position of the American, British, and French negotiators, who may shortly sit down with the Russians in a new effort to reach an understanding on Germany and other outstanding issues. It will not be easy to repair the damage that has been done: it may not be possible to do so at all unless the Republican Party redefines its policy in plain terms and convinces the world that it is not seeking an escape from reality to a hemispheric ivory tower.

Answer to Who's Who?—Queen Elizabeth, Anna Pauker

The Warm Freeze

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, December 21

THIS week the harsh realities of life were brought home to Alan Valentine, who first tried to administer the Economic Stabilization Agency on the theory that the best way to handle a forced-draft inflation was to sit on his hands, and belatedly came to the conclusion that the only possible course was to freeze automobile prices and wages. Temporarily defied by General Motors

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and facing a serious revolt by the Wage Stabilization Board, Valentine today saw a major decision on wages taken out of his hands by the White House. Presidential Assistant John R. Steelman announced settlement of the rail labor dispute in an agreement raising wages, approving future increases to match rises in the cost of living, and edging strongly toward the doctrine that additional increases might be justified by improvement in production rates. This settlement was directly contrary to the order Valentine last week tried to stuff down the throat of the Wage Stabilization Board, canceling out the cost-of-living and productivity increases now included in contracts covering hundreds of thousands of workers. Obviously it meant that the Economic Stabilization Administrator had been overruled. What is not yet clear is whether Valentine has any notion of what to do about inflation.

There is no secret about his basic philosophy. He is represented as having "continually suspected" that "voluntary" price and wage controls would not be sufficient and that eventually we should be "driven" to selective controls. This suspicion, it appears, was strengthened when the success of the Chinese counter-offensive dictated a huge increase in our mobilization program. But he still is not convinced that we need across-the-board price controls. If he is now prepared to urge Congress to pass stringent new national rent legislation and to amend the Defense Production Act to permit effective ceilings on food prices, no one in his stabilization agency will admit it. Yet wage stabilization without rent control and food ceilings is manifestly unworkable.

The reason Valentine is not yet persuaded that across-the-board controls are necessary is that he distrusts the idea of controls. As a matter of political philosophy, he does not want the intrusion of "unnecessary" controls in the operations of our free economy. He thinks that price freezes and ceilings are at best stop-gap measures which do not strike at the underlying causes of inflation. And he has deliberately kept his staff small because he does not want to "add thousands of people" to the public pay roll unless that is "necessary." Since he was sworn in on October 9, his staff has grown from 5 people to about 250—half of them on loan from other federal agencies. The result is that he now has no organization to administer even selective controls, and once again reporters are told that it will take "at least" the familiar "sixty to ninety" days to build such an organization.

There is strong reason to suspect, furthermore, that Valentine gave a green light for the 5 per cent increase in the price of steel announced in connection with wage rises for steel workers. This is denied by the ESA, but Valentine was consulted in advance about the proposal to raise prices. A Congressman says that Valentine told a closed committee hearing that he had protested a proposed increase larger than 5 per cent—which in effect might be considered by the steel companies as approval of the increase actually made.

In any case, having failed to build an organization or reach definite conclusions about controls on food prices, Valentine suddenly started to crack down. Michael DiSalle, the new price administrator, ordered automobile prices rolled back to December 1 levels. And Valentine himself turned up at a meeting of the Wage Stabilization Board at eleven o'clock one morning with an order which he proposed to issue at noon, knocking out the cost-of-living and productivity clauses of the automobile wage contracts. He did not offer this order as a suggestion or a basis of discussion; he had not consulted the unions in advance. Only the violent protests of the Wage Stabilization Board, composed of three members each from management, labor, and the public, changed Valentine's mind.

Few people, perhaps, will be consumed with sympathy for General Motors, which met the price-rollback order with a refusal to sell its 1951 models. A corporation making money, as G. M. did in the quarter following the outbreak of the Korean war, at an annual rate of $1,900,000,000 before taxes, is not a candidate for the poorhouse, and public reaction undoubtedly was a factor in G. M.'s surrender after a four-day rebellion. But to freeze automobile prices after allowing steel prices to rise, when steel is a basic material for automobiles, is not a price-stabilization policy. To try to freeze wages by destroying contracts entered into in good faith, without advance consultation with the people directly involved and without outlining broad action on food and rents, is not a wage policy.

A play-by-play account of how slowly ESA has developed is a story of futility unlimited. On October 9 the staff consisted of Valentine, two secretaries, William Parsons, an assistant secretary of the Treasury on loan from that department, and W. W. McClanshan, a newspaperman named as public-information officer. Within the first week the staff grew to fifteen persons, occupying three rooms in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation building in downtown Washington. On October 20 H. Graham Morison, a Justice Department lawyer, joined the group on loan as general counsel; he has now returned to the Justice Department as head of the Anti-Trust Division, and Francis P. Whitehair, a lawyer from Deland, Florida, has been appointed permanent counsel.

The first major appointment of a permanent ESA official came on November 1, when G. Griffeth Johnson became assistant administrator for economic policy. On November 28 the Wage Stabilization Board, headed by Cyrus S. Ching (on loan from the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service), held its first meeting. On November 30 DiSalle was named price administrator,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and not until December 14 was Admiral John H. Hoover (Retired) appointed as director of investigations—the job covering the entire field of complaints against excessive prices and enforcement of ceilings. The personnel division is still being run by an acting director, Donald Smith, on loan from the RFC, who in turn replaced another official lent by another agency. The 250 persons now on the staff are housed in a ramshackle structure rejoicing in the name of Tempo E, and are moved up and down stairs as their slowly expanding organization requires more space.

ESA has not been completely idle under Valentine. Consultants with OPA experience, such as James F. Brownlee, have been brought in on a *per diem* basis. Conferences are taking place this week on scrap prices, and others are scheduled for January on steel, copper, zinc, and lead prices. These discussions consider existing "price situations" and what the industry spokesmen think should be done, if controls are adopted, to avoid errors committed by OPA during World War II. Very little has been done in the field of food prices, because the Defense Production Act forbids ceilings on farm prices which are at present below parity, and only beef, lamb, and veal are now above parity levels. Valentine could say today only that the meat-price situation is being discussed.

DiSalle's general directive asking industry to hold the line on prices, and threatening mandatory controls if the request is not honored, is an attempt to plug loopholes that existed under the OPA, such as those allowing industry to quit making low-priced goods and concentrate on higher-priced items. But no rollback is in prospect under any circumstances beyond December 1 price levels, and no penalties will be imposed, under present plans, on a business man who decides to bet that even a rollback to December 1 will prove impossible after ESA gets its organization set up "sixty to ninety days" from now.

What Price Franco?

BY BASIL DAVIDSON

I. The Tin Soldiers

Madrid, December 15

TO BEGIN a report on contemporary Spain by discussing the military picture is certainly to put the cart before the horse. Yet those who feel that the Franco dictatorship must not be associated with the Western powers in any kind of alliance will find a valuable argument in the military picture. So perhaps one may be allowed to take that argument first.

The Spanish army was described as "the strongest army in Europe" in the House of Commons last month, and the M. P. who used the phrase urged that this army, Franco's army, be given military supplies. The American and British politicians who have visited Madrid in a steady stream for the last two or three years have urged much the same thing. Franco has usually treated them handsomely. "A very, very lovely and lovable character," Representative James J. Murphy of New York called him last September; Senator Brewster, a month later, found him looking "like a New York banker and a good deal milder than I expected." Most of these visitors have agreed that Spain should be made a member of the Atlantic Pact. Even if Franco's rule is despotic, they argue, at least it is efficient—and it is strong.

But that is precisely what the regime is not. The consensus of reliable Allied opinion is that several years and mountainous expenditure would be required to make Franco's army strong and efficient in the purely technical sense, leaving aside all question of morale and loyalty. The navy can be dismissed, for nobody, not even Senator McCarthy or Lord Vansittart, could expect anything of Franco's navy. It has only a few old hulks in service, and the maneuvers last month revealed that it was incapable of taking a convoy safely from Cadiz to the Canaries. Nor has the air force any importance, and air-ground cooperation is apparently something that the Spanish general staff has only heard about. There are a few good pilots, some of whom now fly the reasonably efficient internal air services—with Bristol "Pegasus" machines; and it goes without saying that more could be trained, given the necessary facilities. But the government has almost no fighting aircraft of any kind. There is one first-class airfield with multiple runways at Barajas on the outskirts of Madrid, the product of American engineering; some others could be soon put in first-class condition, but most fields are hopelessly primitive landing strips.

That Franco's army is large is almost proverbial. It has to remain large, not only to keep the rising generation under its thumb but also because it could only be demobilized into unemployment, and the regime cannot

---

BASIL DAVIDSON is a staff correspondent of the New Statesman and Nation *(London) and author of the recent book "Germany: What Now?" He went to Spain at the request of* The Nation. *In a second article, to appear next week, he will discuss the economic crisis in industry and agriculture.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stand much more unpopularity. Franco has generally tried to keep two age-classes mobilized, but at present he probably does not have more than one and a half age-classes under arms, plus the very large constabulary of "Assault Guards" and Guardia Civil, both well equipped with small arms and automatics. This means that Spain's total armed strength fluctuates between three and four hundred thousand men, according to the rate of intake and release.

The army is organized in twenty-two divisions—usually reckoned as of ten to eleven thousand men each. Eight corps of two divisions each are on the mainland of Spain; four divisions are kept in Spanish Morocco. There are also an armored and a cavalry division. Since Franco's most obvious rival for the army's favor, the "strong" General Varela, is commander-in-chief of Morocco—to which Franco, to all intents and purposes, has banished him—the Moroccan divisions are composed mainly of garrison troops not fit, for various reasons, for combat service.

As regards equipment, all authorities agree that the situation could hardly be worse. While the supply of rifles is probably adequate, there is a drastic shortage of all the weapons which gave the infantry greater firepower in the Second World War than in the First. Franco's army has no more than a sprinkling of light machine-guns and other automatics; it has no modern anti-tank equipment; its armored division was described to me by an expert as "a complete washout," the armor consisting of a handful of German Mark IV's which are regularly trotted out for the annual parade in Madrid. For artillery it has only the cast-offs contributed by various nations to the Franco forces in the civil war, including a few 88-mm. anti-aircraft cannon.

Lacking all modern equipment—and indeed, mechanical equipment of any kind—the Spanish army has of course had no training in the use of new weapons. That is why its commanders are pressing the United States for at least a few deliveries: if full-scale military aid is asked for later on, there ought to be some officers and men who know which end the bullet comes out of. The whole system of command is as appallingly out of date as the weapons. Staffs are overweighted with elderly general officers. Officers' pay is so low that the average officer does his work in the morning and goes to another job in the afternoon. The basic annual pay of a full colonel, for example, is 21,000 pesetas (the exchange rate should probably not be reckoned at less than forty-five or fifty to the dollar); and I gather that a colonel counts himself fortunate if with allowances he gets 3,500 a month. Junior officers are lucky if they can collect 2,000 pesetas a month. These men study little and tend to study the wrong things—the lessons of the civil war, for instance, rather than those of the last world war. This attitude is not due to innate obtuseness, for Spaniards are not obtuse: it is the result of the introverted nature of the dictatorship. To study American or British tactics—*democratic* tactics, much less Russian tactics—would be almost a political betrayal.

FRANCO'S army, then, is today little more than a very large number of men who are trained in parade drill and carry rifles. The cost of equipping it with modern weapons and of training it to use them would be the first item that would have to be paid to make it fit to fight. But it would not be the biggest item. Those who want the Spanish army to be able to move quickly and also to obtain supplies from inside and outside Spain will have to build several thousand miles of road. Existing roads and railways radiate from Madrid like spokes from the hub of a wheel; there are few or no transverse roads connecting the spokes. In addition, at least two or three modern arsenals with ancillary plant must be constructed. The sum of all these necessary expenditures is anybody's guess; in my opinion it would not be less than two billion dollars.

The Spanish railways give the traveler, perhaps more directly than anything else, a sense of the country's terrible physical deterioration. Up-to-date statistics are not available, but the figures for 1947, which are reasonably accurate, will stand well enough for the current year. The right of way is in a shocking state of disrepair: in 1947 it was officially estimated that from 70,000 to 100,000 tons of new rails were required—and they are still required. The number of locomotives and cars under repair is known to be continually increasing, and new construction—averaging since the civil war forty locomotives and two thousand cars a year—has not always kept pace with the need for replacements. The downward trend of the supply of broad-gauge rolling-stock may be seen from this table:

	1936	*1939*	*1945*	*1946*	*1947*
Locomotives . .	2,800	1,837	2,783	2,792	2,689
Passenger coaches	4,383	1,740	2,797	2,719	2,742
Freight cars . . .	69,222	41,700	75,526	70,240	69,213

While I was waiting in the station at Castillejo, I was joined by a German, a Moravian *Volksdeutscher* who had come to Madrid as Slovak consul in 1943. Together we strolled past a line of freight cars on a siding. A little cloud of smoke billowed from one of the axle-boxes, then burst into flame. I waited for someone to rush up to put out the fire, but no one came. "They must have lit it for some purpose," said the German prudently; "we must be careful not to make fools of ourselves." He beckoned to the stationmaster, who was washing his hands under a tap, but got no response. When he had finished washing his hands, the stationmaster went back to his office, saying over his shoulder

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that axle-boxes often caught fire and the fire always went out, as this one would, as soon as the oil was consumed.

"There you are," the German said, "that's Spain. There is a fire, and no one bothers to put it out. That's Europe too."

If all the money needed for equipment, training, and transport were made available by the United States, and could be spent efficiently in spite of the corruption of the Spanish administration, the question would still remain: Would Franco's army prove a useful ally? After the expenditure of two billion dollars and five years' time—the minimum requirement—would Franco's army be able to take the field in a third world war? Some might say that is, again, anybody's guess, but I do not think it is. The factor of morale is not really a doubtful one. Given the Spanish character and tradition, it may be argued, a Spanish army would always fight for Spain. But to fight for Spain today is to fight for Franco; and Franco's regime has certainly failed to capture the loyalty of more than a small minority of the Spanish people. That minority, moreover, is not made up of people who fight in the ranks of the army. There is overwhelming evidence that the great mass of the people—and therefore the great mass of the soldiers, armed or unarmed, tanks or no tanks—see in the Franco dictatorship no more than the symbol of their desperate impoverishment. It is too much to expect that such an army would fight for its oppressors.

The Vatican Defeats the U. N.

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

A CURATORSHIP for the Holy Places supervised by an interfaith commission voluntarily established by the governments of Israel and Jordan may be the final solution of the question of the Holy Places in the Jerusalem area. The *coup de grâce* to United Nations authority over Holy Places was given at the current session of the Assembly. The delegates, by a procedural maneuver, refused even to permit a vote on a practical proposal to register U. N. authority over Holy Places, submitted by Sweden and subsequently jointly amended by the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay. This proposal was offered as a substitute for the 1949 resolution internationalizing 100 square miles of territory and 160,000 people, which the Trusteeship Council said it could not implement. At the same time, the United Nations, in defeating a Belgian proposal, refused to reaffirm the 1949 resolution and the principles of a *corpus separatum*. Although the Jerusalem question could come before the United Nations again next year, the internationalization plan is actually dead for all time.

The failure to establish even a modicum of U. N. authority over the Holy Places after three years of debate is due to a number of factors: (1) The Vatican's determination to keep on the statute books the "dogma" of internationalization, even though it was fully aware that—apart from its manifest unpracticality—such a scheme could never be carried out over the opposition of both Israel and Jordan. This insistence was based on the hope that if the "dogma" remained on the U. N. record, it could be revived at some time to establish in Jerusalem a Middle Eastern extension of the Vatican. (2) The intransigent demand of the Arab League states that Jerusalem be either recognized as an Arab city or internationalized. The Arab League's attitude is conditioned by its active vendetta against Israel, its jealousy of Jordan, which alone salvaged substantial spoils from the disastrous Palestine war, and its hope that stubbornness would increase the size of the Western payoff. (3) The cynicism of the group of so-called Catholic states in Europe and Latin America, which would rather give lip service to a hopeless resolution than resist Vatican policy.

For this latter situation the United States is largely responsible through its lack of courage and leadership. True, the Jerusalem question came before the General Assembly at a most critical hour, when the thoughts of all were turned to the issue of war or peace. But it might have been assumed that precisely for that reason special impetus would be given to the effort to dispose of the Jerusalem question through a just, honorable, and practical solution.

THE discussion began in the Ad Hoc Committee with a statement by the president of the Trusteeship Council that the statute for Jerusalem could not be implemented except by force. To bridge the gap the Swedish delegation submitted a plan based on the principle of an international curatorship for the Holy Places under U. N. supervision such as was proposed in the fall of 1949 by a distinguished American group. The Swedish plan would have limited U. N. authority to protection of the Holy Places and religious sites in the Jerusalem area, this protection to be extended subsequently to other areas in Israel and Jordan.

The government of Israel accepted the Swedish proposal. The representative of Jordan, which controls the area in which thirty-four of the thirty-six Holy Sites are located, after days of wavering under the pounding of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Arab League, expressed reservations, but said most of the provisions of the proposal were already being carried out by Jordan. It was assumed on good authority that the government of Jordan would acquiesce after the passage of the resolution; this was openly suggested by the delegate of Sweden and Lord MacDonald of Britain. Abdullah is a protégé of Britain.

Vigorous espousal of the Swedish proposal by the United States at the outset could have procured its passage, particularly since initially most of the delegations, with the exception of a few diehards, wanted a final conclusion.

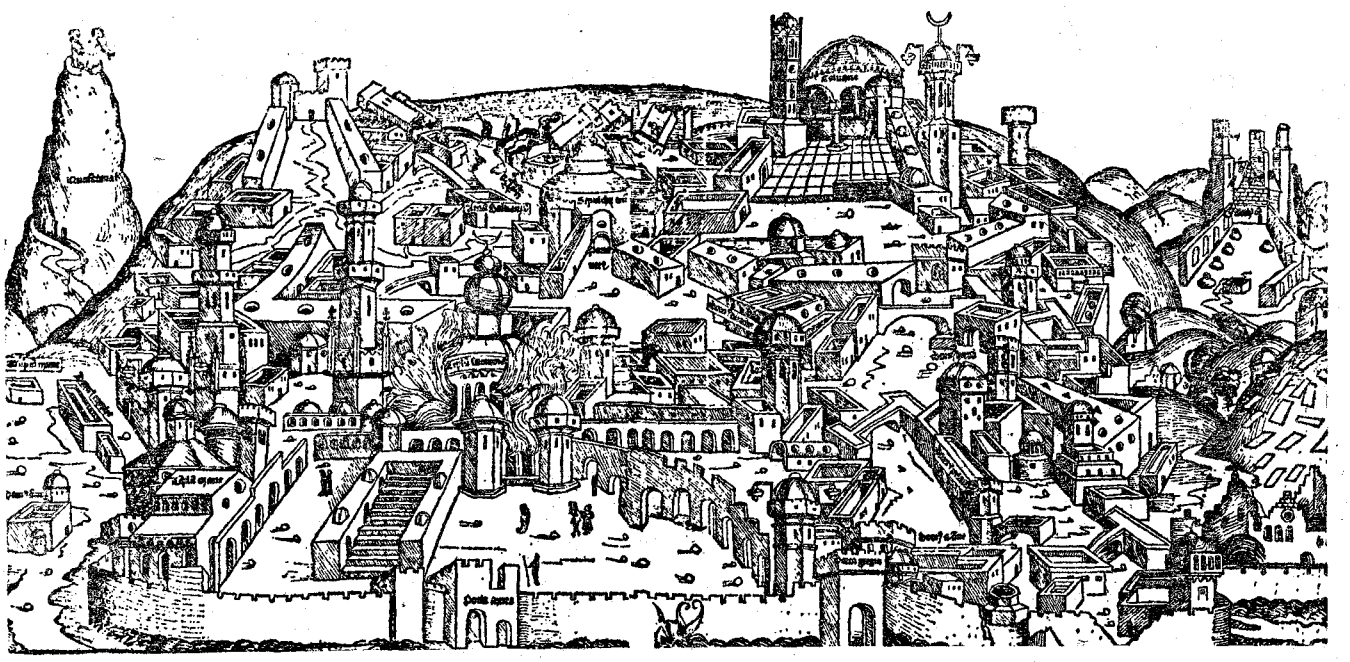
What was the American position? It can only be described as a combination of ineptitude, awed obeisance to the Vatican's actual or implied wishes, and personal hostility against Israel, reminiscent of the days of 1947 when the personal dislikes of the small fry among the State Department's so-called experts were constantly on the verge of contravening Presidential intention and even directives. The State Department directive at the outset was to vote for the Swedish proposal.

The Jerusalem discussion began on December 7. The Ad Hoc Committee voted on December 13. The United States did not show its hand until December 12. The period was marked by some interesting behind-the-scenes developments. Sitting in the Ad Hoc Committee as the United States representative was John Sherman Cooper. Mr. Cooper was scheduled to make an early and strong appeal for the passage of the Swedish proposal, when suddenly he withdrew his name from the list of speakers. Why? One of the State Department "experts" asked him to substitute another speech in which lukewarm support was offered to the Swedish proposal and then, presumably, only if the majority favored it. Subsequently, a new directive called for abstention.

In the interval, lacking indication of United States favor for the Swedish proposal, the pro-internationalization forces rallied. Their spearhead was Auguste de Schryver, a founder of the Catholic Party of Belgium, who declared that the principles of internationalization had not been given a fair chance and proposed a commission to negotiate with Israel and Jordan to accept the *corpus separatum*.

Behind Belgium stood France. The French delegation pursued the will-o'-the-wisp of serving the Vatican and at the same time gaining a new toehold in the Middle East. It hoped to bring about through the Belgian resolution a solution based on the so-called Garreau plan, which had been offered to the Trusteeship Council in the spring of 1950 by Roger Garreau, then its president, and turned down by the Council on the ground that it was not in accord with the 1949 resolution. Under the Garreau plan the Jerusalem area was to be divided into three parts—one part controlled by Jordan and administered by it, another part controlled by Israel, and a third to be the international enclave. To produce this enclave practically the whole of the Old City of Jerusalem was to be internationalized as well as a slice of the New City. France's stake in the operation was the bid to designate a Frenchman as High Commissioner of the enclave.

The day after the Belgian proposal was submitted, the United States made its long-awaited speech, hedged in with ifs and buts, in which it expressed a preference for the Swedish proposal but pointed out that since Jordan opposed the Swedish proposal, it would be prepared to settle for an agreement under which Israel and Jordan would promise the United Nations to observe human rights and fundamental freedoms, assure freedom of access to the Holy Places, observe and maintain the rights with respect to Holy Places and religious de-



Medieval Jerusalem (from an old print)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nominations which were existent on May 14, 1948, and accept a U. N. representative who would supervise the fashion in which the commitments made were being carried out. A year earlier a similar proposal made to the United Nations by Israel received no backing. Even then the United States was not prepared to submit a formal resolution of this kind and looked for some other country to do so.

In the afternoon of the same day, under the pressure of the United Kingdom, a joint proposal in this sense was submitted by the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay, as an amendment to Sweden's proposal and was accepted by the latter.

By the time this proposal was made, the pro-internationalization forces had consolidated their position. It was clear that the same procedural maneuver would be attempted which a year earlier had prevented any resolution, other than the internationalization one, from coming to a vote. Notice was served of this intention by the delegate of Chile, Señora Figueroa, whose country's views on Jerusalem are allegedly dictated by the Arab member of the Chilean delegation. Señora Figueroa demanded that the Belgian resolution be voted on first, on the ground that the American amendments to the Swedish resolution in fact represented a completely new resolution; under the rules, resolutions are voted on in the order of their submission, and therefore the United States proposals should be voted on last. Normally such a question can be decided by the Chair. But the Peruvian chairman, already canvassing for votes for the presidency of next year's General Assembly, chose not to risk offending a powerful bloc and left it to the committee to decide the order of the vote. Belgium won precedence. When the issue arose, the American delegation did not even bother to ask that its resolution be voted on first. Had the amended Swedish proposal been voted on first, it would have had a fair chance of winning, since a number of delegations pledged to vote for the Belgian resolution would have abstained on the Swedish resolution.

In the Ad Hoc Committee thirty votes were cast for the Belgian resolution, eighteen against, with eleven abstentions and with Costa Rica absent. Two votes were lacking for the required two-thirds' majority. Within minutes after the adjournment of the Ad Hoc Committee the American delegation, instead of fighting to prevent the resolution from passing finally in the plenary session, was talking about defeat. There was even a strong intimation that the American delegation would switch to a vote for the Belgian resolution. In the end it voted against the Belgian resolution, which in the final count failed by two votes to obtain a two-thirds' majority. The final vote was thirty for, eighteen against, nine abstentions, three absent.

How close Belgium came to winning may be gauged from the fact that two of the countries which most ardently pressed for its resolution in the Ad Hoc Committee, El Salvador and Haiti, arrived late, after the Assembly had acted. This can hardly be attributed to design. Liberia, which had voted against the Belgian resolution, also was absent; had not Nicaragua shifted from abstention to no, and Thailand been persuaded from accepting the advice of France to shift its vote from opposition to support, the results would have been different. On the other hand, Australia, which had spearheaded the fight in 1949 for internationalization, supported the Swedish proposal.

IN THE course of the debate attempts to revive the Protocols of the Elders of Zion were made by two Arab delegates, Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon and Dr. Jamali of Iraq. Dr. Malik, running short of arguments to bolster his tottering case for internationalization, blandly asserted that the Israelis had been able to capture the press of the world and had more influence and wealth with which to do it than even the powerful United States. Dr. Jamali told the United States, the United Kingdom, and Uruguay that in introducing their resolution they were "bowing before the will of the Zionist international."

No delegate, other than the Israeli, not even the chairman, challenged, repudiated, or reprimanded these utterances, which were borrowed directly from the textbook of world anti-Semitism. The members of the anti-Israeli bloc were not satisfied. Led by the delegate of Greece, they charged the Israelis in effect with introducing spurious documents. This was a reference to two communications, opposing internationalization and favoring an interfaith commission to supervise the Holy Places, from two of the most important religious patriarchs of the Jerusalem community. Ambassador Eban had read into the record the file originals in this sense received by Trygve Lie, from the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Coptic Patriarch of Jerusalem. These were the so-called forged documents. On this inglorious note the debate ended.

The idea of a curatorship of the Holy Places under the authority of the United Nations was first advanced in 1949 by fifteen religious and lay leaders, including Freda Kirchwey, president of the Nation Associates, and was subsequently supported by almost three hundred outstanding Americans, a representative cross-section of the leadership of the various Protestant denominations. Israel and Jordan are now discussing a possible curatorship plan. Should they reach an agreement, they will give practical demonstration of the essential simplicity of protecting Holy Places without sacrificing the free development of the peoples in Jerusalem. Such an agreement will do more to stabilize peace in the area than three years of debate in the U. N.

Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Chances of Peace

BY JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

Paris

I AM writing the article for which you asked with the greatest reluctance. In the first place, it may already be too late to speak about the chances of peace. Further, I can speak only for myself, as a citizen of a nation that has lost the initiative in international politics. If in this period of crisis I reply to your invitation, it is principally because I promised you the reply in somewhat less gloomy times. But it is also because you have a right to know the opinions of Frenchmen, though I am only one among forty million. How many Frenchmen think as I do I cannot say; but I know they are many.

You will no doubt take me to task for saying that "the United States should do this or that" and never that "Russia should." For one thing I am voicing a wish and not giving advice; for another, if in this article I treat the Soviet Union as the fixed factor and the United States as the variable, it is precisely because some American journalists are eager to hear European opinions, and Soviet journalists are not. This is an advantage which the United States still has over the Soviet Union. And if I have nothing agreeable to say to you, that shows Europe still believes it possible to say in the American press what one believes to be the truth, even when the truth is not pleasant.

You ask on what conditions Russia and the United States can transform the present cold or lukewarm war into lasting peace. It seems to me that the first of these conditions is to want peace; this alone is not sufficient, but it is an essential—I am well aware that each opponent is convinced he seeks peace, while the other wants war. But you must remember that in France we are in the zone both of Soviet influence (as your Burnham has said) and of American influence (as Ehrenburg claims). We hear the hour strike on both clocks; we know both arguments. Does the United States desire peace? Does Russia? Do not think Europeans have snap answers to these questions. Of the U. S. S. R. we only know what it allows us to know. But neither is American policy easy for us to understand. We read, in our papers and in yours, the most conflicting statements, some of them attributed to leading figures in your government. For instance, on February 17, 1950, Dean Rusk, testifying before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, affirmed that "the American government was ready to discuss all problems with the U. S. S. R. and was leaving every door open for an exchange of views." And on February 23 Mr. Acheson, in a speech released on March 10, said, "We are engaged in a decisive struggle; the fate of mankind is at stake exactly as in the war against Nazism."

So far as one can judge from this distance, the Republican Party, or certain sections of it, favors a policy of force to protect the liberties of the United States and other democracies. But this policy can be carried out only if supported by American public opinion. Propaganda has therefore been utilized to foster an anti-Communist "climate." Now your anti-communism is much more dangerous than ours—for a strange reason: that you have no Communists. Frenchmen who hate Communists or fervently condemn Soviet policy meet Communists every day and everywhere. Thus, however violent their antipathy, they have to recognize that their opponents are men and not devils; they know that it is possible to talk to a Communist. It is difficult and irritating and does not always give results, but it is possible. In short, for French anti-Communists, Communists are a civilian adversary. For Americans they are already a military enemy. And because the enemy is unseen and unknown, he is the devil and must be fought to the death. Moreover, he appears to be everywhere, just because he cannot be pinned down in a definite place; suspicion grows, infects everybody. Is this man a Communist? Or he? Or he? With us, if a man belongs to the party, we think him perhaps a fanatic; with you he is of necessity a traitor, because by definition he is ranged on the enemy side. And since communism is evil, all that is evil is Communist. In that way we try to explain the paradox that the United States, which has virtually no Communists and where there is not the slightest danger of a red revolution, is obsessed by fear of communism. It is because it fears treason much more than revolution.

The American public, it appears to us, has been so blinded and exacerbated that it has gradually acquired a war mentality. The members of your government, although they belong to the Democratic Party, seem terrorized by this attitude and are driven into applying a sort of exaggerated Republican policy. I know nothing more dangerous for a government than to pursue the policy of its opponents; it always makes it lose the game. If everyone agrees upon Republican policy, the voter

---

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE is a distinguished French author and philosopher. Among his books are "Existentialism," "The Age of Reason," and "The Reprieve." In January he will bring out a new novel, "Troubled Sleep."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thinks, why not vote Republican? Moreover, an unwilling government applies a policy now softly, now fiercely; the brakes scream, there are sudden skids. Finally the opposition interferes, raises the bid, makes absurd proposals knowing it is not responsible. Is this the goal of the reaction? In any case, in an atmosphere of hysteria liberties are increasingly restricted.

YOUR Manicheism leads you to divide people into two groups: everywhere, in France, in Italy, in the Far East, you find the good and the bad. The good are those who take your side, the wicked those who do not, or only partially. But those who are on your side, even in countries where Communists really exist, reach that pitch of hysteria to which the absence of Communists brought you, and become the wildest reactionaries and even fascists. Citizens of the United States find in them a violence of feeling like their own, but that is the only common ground. These people are opposed to democratic liberties, to social progress—that is, hostile to the American spirit; among them are Greek monarchists, Chiang Kai-shek's corrupt minions, Franco's Falange. Your ethics are generous and puritanical, but you pursue a policy which contradicts them. Unfortunately, Soviet cunning leaves you no support but that of oppressive minorities. The Communists everywhere defend the exploited and oppressed—though they feel free to abandon them if Russian interest demands it.

To this you answer, and you are right, that in Russia there is a concentration-camp government. But what do starving Korean peasants care about the Russian penal system? Or even undernourished French workers, when their just strike is being supported by the Communist Party? You cannot persuade people whose opinion is already formed. As a result, the U. S. S. R. without making any overt move, without compromising its position, can touch off or support uprisings, revolutions, or civil wars wherever it wishes. In many countries communism has won the sympathy of one-third to one-half of the population. But your sympathizers are not numerous enough and are often not strong enough to defend themselves; they depend on your aid, and you can only help them by open intervention. If Franco is admitted to the United Nations and if the Spaniards try to overturn him, what will you do? Will you go so far as to defend him?

This brings us back to the war. Because you lack an aggressive and dynamic doctrine, and allies capable of self-defense, you are forced against your better judgment to threaten to use the only weapon you really have at your disposal—the atomic bomb. But that is too much or not enough. It is too much, because you cannot use it without starting a world war; it is not enough, because the enemy knows very well that millions of people in your country and among your allies will protest its use. He can in consequence go a long way before you will carry out your threats. Here again we have a paradox. The United States was for a long time the most pacific nation in the world. The Russians, on the other hand, are pacific neither by tradition nor by doctrine. Thus it is a surprising reversal to find the United States beating the war drums and the Soviet Union talking peace. I know that this is a Russian maneuver, that the Stockholm peace pledge and the peace congresses are weapons. Yet the fact that the Soviet government never needs to intervene directly permits it to rally the pacifists; whereas the United States has never been able to use its own social progress and desire for peace as offensive weapons in the cold war.

Jean-Paul Sartre Seligson

Many of us here ask ourselves whether the Soviet attitude makes war inevitable. But what matters today is not what we think but what you think. And that, I believe, is why so many Americans who want peace are deeply troubled when your press sometimes underestimates and sometimes exaggerates the industrial, military, and moral potential of the U. S. S. R. It would appear that in general you have tended to underestimate the military potential of the Russians, who at present have the best army in the world, and to overestimate the power of the atomic bomb. China does not seem a good target, and the Soviet industries are difficult to reach. If Russia invaded Europe and took over our armament industry, would you not be forced, by public opinion and the ultimate necessities of war, to bomb us? On the other hand, Americans have been asking anxiously whether the concentration of industry in the United States does not make their own country the most vulnerable. All this you know far better than I, and that gives me hope.

In view of the cleavages among the Atlantic Pact nations, European mobilization is extremely doubtful, especially if one remembers that it would take place under the threat of twenty-five fully armed Russian divisions stationed in Germany. Later, if we should be occupied, an organized resistance would accomplish little against the Russians. At the time of the German occupation 90 per cent of the population was for the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Resistance or, at worst, was neutral. But if new American landings were attempted, the resistance of the European Communists might prove very effective. In any case, you are perfectly aware that Europe is in no position to oppose a Russian invasion, since you have repeatedly said that it would take several years to fit a European army for the field. Surely, then, you do not want to wage war tomorrow, since the immediate result would be to weld into one vast continent the Soviet Union, Asia, and an occupied and exploited Europe. This, ironically, is exactly the result that the bellicose wish to avoid by war. So why reproach your European allies for their defeatism, their cowardice? To declare war today on China would practically be to abandon Europe to a Russian occupation. When you now ask us to follow your lead—at the very moment that you are sending to Asia the arms and the men you had destined for us—are you not really asking us, not to fight at your side, but to resign ourselves to the occupation from which you claimed you would save us?

And afterward? Afterward it will be a long while before you can land an army on this immense continent. At the moment to go to war means only to declare it, to let Europe be invaded, and to carry out a few bombardments which will certainly not succeed in undermining Russian morale. I comfort myself with the thought that you want peace, you can only want peace. And yet—

THOSE among you who believe war can be won by air power are the ones who say that war is necessary. They say that time fights for the U. S. S. R., which amounts to saying: if we do not begin hostilities, the Russians will, in their own good time. But what do you really know about it? We Europeans have only signs to go by—signs which we can interpret in a hundred different ways according to our interests or our animosities. Are you better informed than we? President Truman referred to the existence of a peace party in Russia in 1948 and let it be understood that Stalin was anxious for better international relations and was a "prisoner of the Politburo." What has happened to this peace party? It is no longer mentioned. Was the President mistaken? One could cite a hundred examples to show that two interpretations of Soviet policy have always been made in official American circles. In Roosevelt's opinion, Stalin's reiterated declarations that the capitalist and Communist systems could coexist in peace were to be taken seriously. Others have believed, according to the Associated Press, that "every Russian attempt to arrive at a truce in the cold war must be considered a maneuver to gain time for a new offensive." How to decide, who is to decide, between these two views so long as the general settlement by the Big Four or Five, which is periodically discussed, has not actually been tried?

Did the Russians unleash the North Koreans on the South Koreans, or did they simply do nothing to prevent the conflict from breaking out? Could they have prevented it without compromising their position in Asia? If the Soviet Union had opposed the Korean attempt, would not its Chinese partner have regarded such intervention as a white attempt to meddle in affairs which are the concern only of the yellow races? I must confess that I cannot find proof of a Soviet intrigue. On the contrary, I note that the Soviet press has shown relative moderation throughout the Korean campaign, and that Russia soft-pedaled the affair of the Soviet plane downed by American planes.

General MacArthur's armies crossed the Thirty-eighth Parallel regardless of Chinese warnings. President Truman's advisers found no merit in Great Britain's proposal to halt the advance. Was no one aware of the importance China attached to Korea? Was China expected to be satisfied with a few assurances? How could Peking be asked to ratify the U. N. action when it was excluded from the U. N.? These are ample grounds for Mao Tse-tung's decision to intervene. Yet in your opinion it is the Soviet Union that is to blame.

The only way to counter such an interpretation of the situation—which, if not false, is at least unproved—is to try to arrive at a general settlement of international problems, if there is still time. This brings up the question: Suppose Russia is not determined upon war, is it possible to find bases for agreement? Are not its interests and ours everywhere opposed?

This war toward which we are heading presents a very different aspect from other wars. Ordinarily a conflict of interests is disguised as an ideological dispute. This time opposed ideologies will be disguised as conflicting interests. Since the cold war has achieved the division of the world into two autarchic systems both of which manage to function, their coexistence in peace must also be possible. When you say that the Russians have imperial ambitions which must be restrained by fear, you mean that they are not inevitably driven to this imperialism by their economy. Thus your own arguments prove that basically you believe what you so often deny: that the two economic systems can coexist.

Your policy is inspired by an emotional and abstract idealism rather than by a realistic awareness of your interests. When the United States backed Chiang Kai-shek, nothing could have been more natural, more realistic, more in conformity with its traditional policy. Yet you did not like the policy of Chiang Kai-shek, or his advisers, or the corruption of his officials, or his vaguely dictatorial ideology. The same realism should oblige you to approach Mao Tse-tung, although you like neither his ideology nor his social reforms. Your continued support of Chiang Kai-shek is an example of your anti-Communist psychosis and shows how a purely nega-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tive policy can shrivel to a mere abstraction. The only intelligent China policy would have been that which the Soviet Union—for its own reasons—wished you to pursue. But your awareness of this wish was enough to dissuade you from complying. It would have been better to abandon all illusions, and to understand that recognition of the Peking government was the only way left to you to remain in Asia.

Your Russian policy should have been inspired by the realistic and concrete principle that one might as well give, even to an opponent, what it is to one's interest to give him, and that it is foolish to risk doing oneself an injury by refusing him something which later must be abandoned to him. Russia would not have been weakened had you received Mao Tse-tung into the U. N., but Chinese-American relations would have been improved, and the Korean war might not have occurred.

WOULD you like other examples of your abstract approach? Consider the Atlantic Pact, or German rearmament. Here as elsewhere the oppositions disappear as soon as the concrete aspects of the situation are examined. In the last analysis the Atlantic Pact is an abstraction, and as we have seen, it cannot be realized until many years have passed. If war broke out tomorrow, its only result would be, as Forrestal said, to "enrich the aggressor with the booty of northern Italy, the Ruhr, Sweden, and France." Meanwhile the pact irritates the Russians more than it worries them. It has aroused the insurmountable opposition of all the Communist parties of Europe and driven them to block European reconstruction in every possible way; and it has ranged the people of all the Western democracies—except England —in two camps, ready, in the event of war, to tear themselves to pieces. Everyone of these nations has become, instead of a cushion against war, a danger spot.

Western Europe can serve as a buffer zone between America and Russia only if it belongs to neither. Acting in good faith, the two powers could aid in the renaissance of an independent Europe, principally on the basis of a social program. It may be said that this solution favors the U. S. S. R., because it leaves a powerful Communist Party in every country. But once more the objection is abstract, since these Communist parties already exist and cannot be rooted out by terror and since they are, in the main, identified with the proletariat. At the present time the nervous, hesitating anti-communism on which you lean does not even have

ARMY MEDICAL

London *Daily Herald*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the strength which would be derived from your unqualified support, though it may be strong enough to touch off civil war. Over here, you know, German rearmament and the Korean war, at least in their latest developments, have almost succeeded in awakening doubt and anxiety among your own supporters. In the last few months your generosity, which a short while ago aroused our enthusiasm, has seldom appeared disinterested enough to be owed unmixed gratitude. The moment that you cease to regard us as soldiers, you will rediscover us as friends. As neutrals but determined to resist every aggression, we shall be more useful to the cause of peace than we could be to your war as partisans without resources.

International tension has killed off our old Socialist parties. A lasting *détente* would permit them to be reconstituted in a new form. They could then fight against the Communist parties, not from above, by vainly trying to disband them, but on the working-class and peasant level, by a democratic policy of social reform.

And Germany? Is not its division into zones an abstraction? Is not the project of rearming half a nation to fight the other half mere abstract theory? What is it you fear? You have said often enough that there was almost universal opposition to the Communist regime in the Russian zone, and that only the presence of the Red Army prevented its expression. Does realism consist in prolonging an occupation that incites each half of Germany against the other and against the occupying power? This in itself renders the withdrawal of Allied troops daily more difficult. With a general settlement in view, should not the date and terms of the evacuation of Germany by *all* the armies of occupation be discussed? Should not a common means be sought for guaranteeing the freedom of future German elections?

I have only tried to give examples. I have no authority to present a general plan; indeed, it might seem comic for me to do so. But everyone has a right to make clear the spirit in which he hopes negotiations will be undertaken. If you resolve to work for peace and to believe in it, if you renew your confidence in democracy, in social progress at home and abroad, if you everywhere support, not the narrowest anti-communism, but progressive and democratic forces, there will be a million-to-one chance of peace.

The choice between you and the Russians is one between cynics and madmen. But there is still among you a powerful minority which believes democratic ideology is not played out but will have the strength to make headway if it can find a way to adapt itself to new conditions. If this minority could become the majority for a single day, the whole world would renew its faith in you. Your government could then at last attempt a "calculated risk" policy, risking not war but peace.

That is what many Frenchmen and Europeans wish; that is what they never get a chance to say to Americans. I believe that they will be grateful to *The Nation* for having allowed one of them to express his views. These contacts, these free discussions, if multiplied, might also increase the chance of peace.

Lost Boundaries?

BY JERRY TALLMER

DOROTHY S. BROWN is a grade-school teacher who wants to get a job in the public schools in Elmont township, Nassau County, Long Island, New York. Ray L. Lindbloom, who doesn't think she ought to get the job, is the Superintendent of Schools in the Elmont district. Robert A. Thayer comes into this unpleasant story because Mrs. Brown accuses him of pussyfooting, and worse, on the question of whether she deserves the job. This is a serious charge, since Mr. Thayer, as a member of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, is supposed to see that she gets a fair deal from Mr. Lindbloom.

Although her skin is as white as John Rankin's, her hair a curly auburn, her eyes blue, her nose narrow, Mrs. Brown is a Negro. Her parents were Negroes, and she has always lived as a Negro. She is convinced she was turned down by Mr. Lindbloom for that reason, despite her qualifications; that no Negro teacher can get a job in Nassau County public schools.

Early this year Mrs. Brown learned that Elmont school officials were looking for some twenty new teachers. Toward the end of April she talked with one of Mr. Lindbloom's assistants and was assured that Mr. Lindbloom would be interested in such a well-qualified candidate. (Mrs. Brown has a B. Sc. in education from Minor Teachers' College in Washington, D. C., extensive credit in graduate work in education at Howard University—like Minor, a well-known Negro institution—and at New York University, and eleven years of teaching experience in the public schools of the District of Columbia and a private school in Great Neck, Long Island.)

Several days later she was asked by the principal of the Elmont Road School to come in to see him. He seemed

---

JERRY TALLMER was formerly assistant editor of The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

delighted with her record and told her of the two openings in his school. Then he asked her if she would object to teaching Negro children. After all, her Southern accent—. Why no, she said, I wouldn't object; you see, I am a Negro. The principal handed her an application blank and brought the interview to an end. A month later he informed her that the two openings had been filled.

Mrs. Brown related this experience to a friend, a white woman whose young daughter was then about ready to transfer from kindergarten to grade school in Elmont. The friend asked an acquaintance, another principal in the district, how he would feel about hiring a Negro. He didn't know; the parents would be against it. But I'm a parent, she said, and I'm not against it. You're just one, he replied. The person you have in mind should meet other parents. So this friend arranged for Mrs. Brown to meet ten or twelve Elmont mothers and fathers. That was the beginning of what Mr. Lindbloom was later to term "a move . . . , of which [Mrs. Brown] seemed to be a party, to high-pressure her appointment."

On June 2, a few days after her introduction to the Elmont parents, Mrs. Brown received a card from New York University saying that her credentials had been forwarded to Mr. Lindbloom at his request. She then called Mr. Lindbloom on the telephone and was granted an appointment for the end of the week. "I didn't go to pick a fight," she says. "I wasn't looking for trouble—or for a race problem." According to Mrs. Brown, Lindbloom told her that he had received more than one hundred applications just from the seniors at Queens College and that he was interviewing only those candidates whom he was seriously considering. "I asked Mr. Lindbloom if race would have anything to do with my not being considered for the job. He said, 'I will not commit myself on that, but before considering anyone for a job, I would most certainly consider race and religion along with my own personal integrity.' I don't know what he meant by that. I saw my credentials before him on his desk, but there seemed nothing more to say."

Lindbloom says he was "impressed with Mrs. Brown's educational attainments, pleased with many of her personal characteristics, and was considering recommending her for appointment." Then, the next morning, four of the parents who had met Mrs. Brown called on Lindbloom. They have since insisted that they just wanted to let the superintendent know how some of the parents in his district felt about Negro teachers. In signed affidavits three of them have declared that Lindbloom told them "he did not feel that the time was right to hire a Negro. . . . Such an act on his part might cause a split in the School Board." They also say the superintendent "intimated . . . that Mrs. Brown, in his opinion, qualified in all respects for the position but that he did not feel the community was ready for such a step." Lindbloom has stated: "It is very apparent that [Mrs. Brown] was not satisfied to have her application passed upon on the merits, but she very deliberately sought the aid of others." He considered this "unethical" and therefore "declined further consideration" of her application.

A few days afterward Mrs. Brown filed a complaint at the office of the State Commission Against Discrimination in New York City. She received a brief acknowledgment from Commissioner Robert H. Thayer on June 16, returned to his office the following week to give her story to an investigator, and then heard no more from the commission for some time. On July 14 she wrote Thayer: "I was informed today by —— [her white friend] that the superintendent of schools in Elmont . . . has taken what I believe to be a retaliatory action against her child in reducing her child to the kindergarten level after she had been informed that the child had been accepted for the first grade."* She also asked Thayer to advise her what progress had been made on her case. On July 31 she got a reply, not from Thayer, who was then absent on vacation, but from Commissioner Nicholas H. Pinto. His letter indicated that the Commission's investigation was almost concluded. He had endeavored, he said, to "persuade the school officials that you should be seriously considered for appointment next fall. . . . If I have not succeeded in effecting an adjustment [within two weeks], this matter will be taken up by Commissioner Thayer."

TIME passed with no word from the commission. The parents' group then went to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which supplied an attorney, Jawn N. Sandifer. At the end of August Mrs. Brown filed a petition with Lindbloom and the Elmont School Board requesting action on her application. In September she asked the State Commissioner of Education in Albany to intervene, but he said he could not take jurisdiction because the local School Board had not made a decision on her application; the School Board could not act because Mrs. Brown's name had never been submitted to it. On October 3 Mrs. Brown instituted action in the Nassau County Supreme Court to compel Lindbloom to submit her name to the School Board for its consideration.

On October 16, three days before her case was to be heard, Mrs. Brown received a brief note from Mr. Thayer asking her to call his secretary for an appointment. Mrs. Brown called, but she is a busy woman and none of Thayer's free moments seemed to match hers. The court case was argued and a date set to file briefs. On October 26 the Commissioner's secretary telephoned

*The child was eventually accepted in the first grade. Her mother would not discuss the incident with me for fear of "bringing further harm to an innocent victim." But Mrs. Brown's statement to Mr. Thayer is a matter of record.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mrs. Brown. From here on, I had better let Mrs. Brown and Commissioner Thayer tell the story in their own conflicting words.

Mrs. Brown: She [Mr. Thayer's secretary] called me and asked me to come in again. We still couldn't find a convenient time. She said Mr. Thayer would meet me after work in the Great Neck railroad station! We made the date. I called my lawyer and he said to take along my husband. So the next evening there we were, and up came Mr. Thayer. He was very angry. He said he resented the insinuations in the papers that the commission wasn't doing anything on my case. But I hadn't seen that insinuation printed anywhere. Then he told me that Mr. Lindbloom was ready to hire a Negro teacher but wouldn't do it now because of the pressure group behind me. He told me two or three times he washed his hands of the whole thing, that I was wasting my money on a lawyer, that he, Mr. Thayer, would get my case thrown out of court. He implied that the parents supporting me and the N. A. A. C. P. were all Communists. He said that even after my interview with Lindbloom, Lindbloom sent for my credentials. So I said that the credentials were right there on the Superintendent's desk when I talked to him. The Commissioner stamped his foot and said, "I will *not* have you dispute me!" But I have the postcard from N. Y. U., I told him, and he cooled down a bit. I called his attention to my original complaint to the commission, in which I had included the parents' report of what Lindbloom had said to them. Mr. Thayer said he had never seen their statements. It's in the complaint, I said. Well, he said, maybe now he would reconsider the case. This was new evidence. Finally, I asked him to tell me the purpose of our meeting. What did he have to say that he couldn't have written? He ignored the question. I think he arranged it because he wanted to scare me, but I left on top.

Commissioner Thayer: I tried to get hold of Mrs. Brown for quite a while. She was always too busy to see me. Well, I thought, I've got to see she has a complete chance. I live in Glen Cove. I'll meet her halfway, in Great Neck. We met in the railroad station and went out and sat in my car. Did she tell you I washed my hands of the whole thing? That is an absolute lie. That I would get the case thrown out of court? That, too, is an absolute lie, and there is no possible way she could have misunderstood me. I did not tell her she was being victimized by her lawyer or anything like that. As a matter of fact, I asked her whether her lawyer had pointed out to her that her case would quite likely be thrown out of court because her complaint was pending before my commission, and Section 135 of the Ives-Quinn law makes it clear that any pending action within the commission's jurisdiction is exclusive—it excludes any other civil or criminal action based on the same grievance. Later I told her lawyer about this. I am not in a position to characterize pressure groups. But I can say that I know from experience that the minute pressure has been put on anyone, the instinct is for the fellow to draw back. In this business of discrimination you're dealing with human tensions, human emotions. You can't be arbitrary. You've got to handle it carefully and slowly. It requires tremendous patience. Throughout this whole case I've tried to be fair. If there had been no new evidence, I would have decided this matter then and there in Great Neck. What do I mean by new evidence? Evidence which was not contained in the file. She gave me evidence she had never given before. I don't care what she says about my having previous access to such evidence. *That is not the fact.* As for the length of our investigation, it means nothing. We've taken two weeks to decide a case—or over a year. It depends on circumstances. Has there ever been a Negro teacher in a Nassau County public school? I'm sure I don't know. We have a big Negro population here in Glen Cove, but I don't know if we have a Negro teacher.

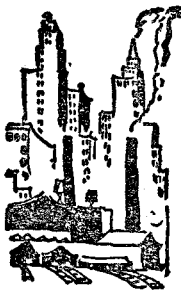
(I checked up on Mr. Thayer later. He plays a leading part each year in the organization of the Glen Cove Community Chest and has been its chairman at least once. He is also interested in Negro affairs out there and is a strong supporter of Lincoln House, a Negro social-service center. The Negroes in his home town have a high regard for him.)

On November 3 Justice Cortland A. Johnson of the New York Supreme Court decided in favor of Mr. Lindbloom, finding that discrimination had not been demonstrated, that Mrs. Brown had no "clear, legal right to the relief she seeks." The selection of appointees to the school system, he said, "involves a high degree of discretion—and the court does not feel justified upon the record to interfere."

Mrs. Brown's lawyer says that this is not a great setback to his client. All he wanted was to get the case through the lower court and into the Appellate Division. He will try to show that five other Negroes have been refused teaching jobs in Nassau County public schools. The N. A. A. C. P., he says, is going to fight for a reform of the entire public-school administration in Nassau County.

On November 20 Mrs. Brown wrote Mr. Thayer to notify him that she was withdrawing her complaint before the commission. She wants to remove her case from its "exclusive" jurisdiction. By return mail Mr. Thayer informed her that "the right of a complainant to withdraw a complaint is not an absolute right, but a request to withdraw a complaint may be accepted or refused in the discretion of the investigating commissioner. Before making any decision with regard to your request, I would appreciate your advising me the reasons for your request." I haven't bothered to ask Mrs. Brown if and how she'll answer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Commodity Scramble

IN HIS report to the President on foreign economic policies published on November 12 Gordon Gray, referring to the danger of "a senseless scramble" for primary commodities, hinted at the need for machinery "to assist in obtaining an equitable and efficient international division of supplies." Without such machinery, he continued, "it is very probable that supplies of some vital commodities will be distributed by competitive bidding, with results that will be neither equitable nor consistent with the needs of the common defense of the free world."

Mr. Gray used the future tense, but he might very well have used the present, since "a senseless scramble" for supplies of many strategic raw materials has in fact been going on ever since the Korean war began. With governments and private businesses competing frantically to protect themselves from shortages, prices of such commodities as rubber, tin, wool, and cotton have gone through the roof. And while official prices for the leading non-ferrous metals —copper, zinc, lead, and aluminum—have advanced to a lesser extent, mounting scarcities have led to the payment of huge premiums in black and gray markets. Thus while domestic producers are quoting 17¾ cents a pound for high-grade zinc, deals at up to 50 cents are being reported.

So far actual defense production can account for only a small fraction of current consumption of scarce materials: their rapid rate of "disappearance" is due rather to abnormal production of civilian goods and stockpiling, public and private. In the case of copper and zinc, world production of which has been rising steadily, Kurt Bloch reports in *Barron's* of December 11, "Processors suspect that huge inventories of finished civilian products rather than of the metals and their alloys have accumulated in the hands of consuming industries, wholesalers, and retailers. Coupled with bank-credit inflation, the very threat of use limitations for the sake of the stockpile has sufficed, it seems, to stimulate widespread and virtually undetectable hoarding."

Mr. Bloch seems to think that complaints of Western European nations about the stockpiling methods of the United States Munitions Board are well founded. Since most of its operations are shrouded in secrecy, critics are handicapped, but alleged facts certainly call for investigation. Thus in a recent memorandum Dr. Dewey Anderson, of the Public Affairs Institute, declared that between 1946 and 1948 the government aluminum stockpile accumulated during the last war, which amounted to 375,000,000 pounds, was liquidated by sale to the three producing companies —Alcoa, Reynolds, and Kaiser. Now, it appears, this metal is being repurchased at higher prices.

Another disconcerting fact mentioned by Mr. Bloch is the existence of two tin stockpiles, one managed by the Munitions Board and the other, quite independently, by the RFC, presumably in connection with its Texas tin-smelting plant. It would be interesting to know whether there is an exchange of information between these two agencies. Finally, there is apparently a curious lack of balance between the zinc stockpile, estimated at upward of 475,000 tons, and the copper stockpile, thought to be around 400,000 tons. The major use of zinc in munitions manufacture is in brass for shell cases, which is composed of 30 per cent zinc and 70 per cent copper. That suggests that the zinc stockpile is too big, but nevertheless the accumulation during 1951 of another 200,000 tons, or some 20 per cent of current domestic consumption, is said to be planned. Meanwhile British consumers of this metal are faced with a 50 per cent cut in deliveries for the first quarter of the coming year.

It is not surprising, then, that Western European nations should feel that American handling of the raw-materials situation has been both inconsiderate and unrealistic. At the very time that our partners in the North Atlantic Treaty organization are being urged by Washington to expand arms production to the uttermost, they find the magnetic power of the dollar is being used to corner supplies of the essential ingredients of munitions. As a result, they are facing not merely restrictions in the civilian uses of such materials far more drastic than any contemplated here but curbs which will diminish their total industrial potential. "It is obvious," said G. R. Strauss, British Minister of Supply, in the House of Commons on December 7, "that if shortages of the kind with which we are now threatened continue through 1951, they cannot but impose a serious check upon the rising output of the engineering industries on which we are so heavily dependent, not only for our rearmament program but also for a large part of our export trade and for essential investment at home."

Among the reasons for Mr. Attlee's recent visit to Washington was a desire to discuss this question at the highest level. The upshot was a rather vaguely worded statement to the effect that the Prime Minister and the President "agreed that the problem of raw-material shortages was vitally urgent and that vigorous efforts should be made to increase production and to assure the most effective use of the limited supplies available."

Experts of both countries, together with representatives of the Office for European Economic Cooperation, are now considering how this aspiration can best be transplanted into a practical program. The Combined Raw Materials Board which the United States and Britain set up shortly after Pearl Harbor provides a possible model but one that will require extensive adaptation to meet the different circumstances of the present crisis. At that time America and Britain, having practical control of the world's shipping, were in a position to impose their procurement policies on exporters of raw materials outside the sphere of the Axis powers and stabilize prices. But the rough-and-ready methods then used are hardly feasible today when the interests of many producer and consumer countries must be consulted. Nevertheless, it should not be beyond the wit of the free nations to devise ways of ending this present insensate competition for materials and to plan effectively the one real remedy for present shortages—expansion of production.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

EDNA ST. VINCENT MILLAY: 1892-1950

BY ROLFE HUMPHRIES

SHE was found lying dead alone at the foot of the stairs; and since then, it seems, everybody—except one or two boors who saw fit to kick her—has been stepping over her, ever so delicately, as if the remembered twenties, hers, ours, and the century's, were something rather embarrassing in view of the spacious and enlightened times to which we survivors have now progressed.

What stuff and nonsense! What dreadful cant!

She wrote some bad verse when she was young, and some worse verse when she was older, as who has not, witness John Keats at one end and William Wordsworth at the other. She could be silly, cute, arch, hysterical; she could commit ghastly errors of taste. She also could, and did, write so memorably that her language was on every tongue. Her currency, her circulation, wore down her coinage to counters. So she was vogue, and now she is dated. They say.

Tease not her ghost with slander. She was a fine lyric poet, also, in the classical sense, a fine elegiac poet, and the dates of her *floruit* matter as little as Sulpicia's or Sappho's. She expressed a great deal more than the spirit of a tinsel age: there was the silver of an individual voice, the legal tender of no base emotion. She could feel, and she could put into words; there was wit there, and clarity, mastery of epithet, control of modulation. Like Housman, whom it is also fashionable to deplore, she composed her own music out of old ballad airs and the clear ringing Latin that she loved. She had an ear; and that gift is not a trinket which can be comfortably hidden away in the bureau drawer of a decade.

We have no one like her today, when a "young" poet is somebody around the age of forty, with the trite vocabulary of his particular camp and a spirit fatigued by the banalities of its particular campaigns. In her youth she had two qualities, neither too common—an immediately individual style and a capacity for ecstasy. I do not mean that word in the sense in which it is misused, oh, so often, by ladies who write poemsies, but in its true Greek sense of standing outside the self. Whereto, whatever its gaucheries, the poem Renascence bore witness.

But it was not only in the first fine careless rapture that her excellence was found. The ardor was chastened, but the lyric quality persisted, graver, more reflective, a little sorrowful for being wiser, a good deal subtler as the rhythms were moved to the more pensive mood. Never cited as characteristic, half a dozen lyrics, at least, from "The Buck in the Snow" volume: Song, The Hardy Garden, the title poem, To a Young Girl, Evening on Lesbos, The Cameo, Counting-out Rhyme—all these, did they come to us new today, would mark a talent of distinction. Have we time to listen for a few moments to these cadences?

Forever over now, forever, forever gone
That day. Clear and diminished like a scene
Carven in cameo, the lighthouse and the cove between
The sandy cliffs, and the boat drawn up on the beach;
And the long skirt of a lady, innocent and young,
Her hand resting on her bosom, her head hung;
And the figure of a man in earnest speech . . .

—*from The Cameo*

COUNTING-OUT RHYME

Silver bark of beech, and sallow
Bark of yellow birch, and yellow
Twig of willow.

Stripe of green in moosewood maple,
Color seen in leaf of apple,
Bark of popple.

Wood of popple pale as moonbeam,
Wood of oak for yoke and barn beam,
Wood of hornbeam.

Silver bark of beech, and hollow
Stem of elder, tall and yellow
Twig of willow.

Who now, when evening darkens the water, and the stream is dull
Slowly, in a delicate frock, with her leghorn hat in her hand
At your side from under the golden osiers moves,
Faintly smiling, shattered by the charm of your voice? . . .

—*from To a Musician*

Almost everybody can write sonnets that sound like almost everybody else's; hers did not, and she wrote many. Her skill with the form led her on to risk the challenge of the sonnet sequence, than which only the sestina offers a quicker and surer bid to dulness. Neither of her sequences, the Epitaph for the Race of Man and the Fatal Interview, could be labeled dull, though there were moments of embarrassment; the texture might be frayed or ravel out, but there always was a texture. And there was some very lovely weaving—*Moon that against the lintel of the west* or *O sleep forever in the Latmian cave;* enjoyment might differ, with the individual, in response to this or that number, but all of us, I hope, could consent and agree in delight with

Not in a silver casket cool with pearls
Or rich with red corundum or with blue,
Locked, and the key withheld, as other girls
Have given their loves, I give my love to you;
Not in a lovers'-knot, not in a ring
Worked in such fashion, and the legend plain—
Semper fidelis, where a secret spring
Kennels a drop of mischief for the brain:
Love in the open hand, no thing but that,
Ungemmed, unhidden, wishing not to hurt,
As one should bring you cowslips in a hat
Swung from the hand or apples in her skirt,
I bring you, calling out as children do:
"Look what I have!—And these are all for you."

Tease not her ghost with slander.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Anthropological Fallacy

HOLLYWOOD THE DREAM FACTORY. By Hortense Powdermaker. Little, Brown and Company. $3.50.

THE social anthropologist has been much with us in recent years, brandishing the magic key with which he pretends to unlock the secrets of all cultures, old or new. He began modestly enough a couple of generations back with some original and rewarding inquiries into the routines of existence in primitive societies. But success went to his head; he came to believe that he had developed an infallible weapon of analysis, which could be applied indifferently to the most rudimentary societies or to the most developed and complex. If it had worked for the Trobriand Islander, the hairy Ainu, and the Pueblo Indian, why should it not work just as well for the twentieth-century American, Briton, or Russian?

In this guileless faith anthropologists have begun to rush in where the more cautious historians and economists fear to tread. But this imperialistic urge involves the anthropologists in serious risks. For the first time, for example, they are venturing into areas where other people than themselves have first-hand knowledge. After all, few of us have come of age in Samoa or grown up in New Guinea; but many more of us know a little about modern America or Russia. Moreover, such factors as political development, intellectual traditions, economic connections, which are more or less static in primitive societies, are of vital importance in modern life; any analysis which slights them is doomed to disaster. Indeed, the major result thus far of the invasion of twentieth-century society by the anthropologists has been, as Bernard De Voto has remarked, less to overwhelm us with their wisdom about contemporary life than to shake our faith in what they once told us about the Trobriand Islander.

Dr. Hortense Powdermaker's book on Hollywood may serve as a convenient example of the anthropological fallacy. Dr. Powdermaker is an anthropologist of twenty years' experience; she has lived among the Stone Age Melanesians in the Bismarck Archipelago; her masters are Malinowski, Ralph Linton, and Edward Sapir. And she approached Hollywood in about the same spirit as that in which she approached the Melanesians in New Ireland. "Just as I sat around campfires in the evening with my native friends in the South Seas and participated in their feasts, so in Hollywood I had leisurely evenings with friends, and went to some of their parties." Or, again: "In all field work there is usually one piece of esoteric data which is hidden by the natives. Among the Melanesians in the Southwest Pacific it is black magic. Among the Hollywood executives it is net profits." And again, and again.

Now this approach might be all very well for a satirist; it might even serve as a bright and instructive metaphor for the social critic. But Dr. Powdermarker aimed at much more than this. She wished to discover how the social structure of Hollywood affected the final production of movies. To answer this question, she spent a year in Hollywood. Then she mobilized the anthropologist's arsenal—with all the talk of totems, taboos, magic ritual, and the other concerts so relevant to primitive cultures—for a full-dress analysis of her observations of modern society. The result, one assumes, is supposed to be scientific analysis of the same order as her "Life in Lesu, the Study of a Melanesian Society in New Ireland."

What is the result? Part of the time it issues in platitudes ("Among the Maori, a Polynesian people living in New Zealand, the in-group is an aristocracy dependent, in part, on biological relationships. In Hollywood, kinship is also important"). But in its more pretentious passages it issues, so far as I can see, in meaningless or misleading pseudo-scientific verbiage. Thus, in a characteristic sentence, Dr. Powdermaker writes of Hollywood: "The god is profits, and opportunism the ritual of worship." This sentence, I take it, is not just a figure of speech; it is presumably intended as an anthropological observation. Yet if ritual means anything, it must mean some kind of prescribed ceremonial act or form; how even in Hollywood "opportunism" can be a "ritual" I cannot imagine.

Or take Dr. Powdermaker's use of the concept "taboo."

Among Stone Age Melanesians in the Southwest Pacific there is a taboo on sex relations before a fishing expedition, to insure a good catch. In Hollywood there is a taboo on portraying in a movie any indication that a marriage has been consummated, and for the same reason: to prevent hostile forces from interfering with the catch—at the box office.

One's confidence in Dr. Powdermaker's rigorous use of the concept is not improved when a few pages later she forgets about the catch at the box office and suggests that the taboo is supposed to effect an "increase in morality in movies." But, in any case, she makes a great display of the idea, taking an entire chapter to argue that the Hollywood taboos are "embodied in the self-imposed Production Code."

Now this is surely a fantastic misuse of a concept which has a genuine role in the study of primitive people. An essential characteristic of the primitive taboos is that they are imposed from within; Freud speaks of "their enforcement through an inner need." But the Production Code was "self-imposed" in only the most formal and secondary sense; it was imposed on Hollywood by external pressure; it is not, like a genuine taboo, accepted unquestionably by those under its dominance. The whole use of "taboo" in this context is a literary flourish without scientific significance. Dr. Powdermaker might better have remembered Freud's warning that both the word and the system corresponding

Bi-Focal

Sometimes up out of this land
a legend begins to move.
Is it a coming near
of something under love?

Love is of the earth only,
the surface, a map of roads
leading wherever go miles
or little bushes nod.

Not so the legend under,
fixed, inexorable,
deep as the darkest mine
the thick rocks won't tell.

As fire burns the leaf
and out of the green appears
the vein in the center line
and the legend veins under there,

so the world happens twice—
once what we see it as;
second it legends itself
deep, the way it is.

WILLIAM STAFFORD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to it "express a fragment of psychic life which really is not comprehensible" to a culture which has lost its faith in personal spooks and demons.

Dr. Powdermaker seems intermittently aware that she may be engaged in an illegitimate extension of anthropological concepts. At one point she tries vaguely to justify this extension by asserting that "there appears to be a greater use of magical thinking" in Hollywood "than elsewhere in the modern world"; indeed, she says, "success in Hollywood appears to be more closely related to the realm of the supernatural than it does for primitive men." But no serious attempt is made to support either assertion. Instead, Dr. Powdermaker moves on to increasingly meaningless remarks like the much-resented "Hollywood represents totalitarianism." Her own compulsive and propitiatory use of the anthropological vocabulary comes all the more oddly from one who is so aware of other people's susceptibility to ritual and magic.

"Hollywood the Dream Factory" is not entirely worthless. It contains some intelligent descriptions of Hollywood types and some interesting chitchat about Hollywood problems. But its besetting sin is to substitute metaphor and vocabulary for analysis; and it exhibits practically no acquaintance with such concrete factors as the history of American mass entertainment or popular taste (or, indeed, with history of any kind; Dr. Powdermaker can blithely use "medieval" and "Protestant Reformation" as synonyms). I do not think the book warrants *Variety's* show of indignation. But I do think that some kind of indignation is demanded at so bold an exhibition of pseudo-science. That indignation should be directed, however, at the people who subsidized Dr. Powdermaker's study.

Needless to say, "Hollywood the Dream Factory" was made possible by a foundation—in this case, the Viking Fund. In recent years foundations have been spending more and more of their money to support such vain and fruitless essays in "social science." If Edward Gibbon were to walk into a foundation today with a sample chapter under his arm from a work in progress on the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, his application for a grant-in-aid would be rejected without a tremor. He would probably be told either that he must transform it into a collective research project, or else that he should turn the whole idea over to a social anthropologist. If American scholarship is becoming increasingly phony and portentous, the foundations must assume a large share of the blame.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

Recent Fiction

THE DELICATE PREY, AND OTHER STORIES. By Paul Bowles. Random House. $3.

A FAMILY ROMANCE. By Elizabeth Pollet. New Directions. $2.50.

UNLIKE many writers dedicated to the exploitation of the bizarre and the exotic, Mr. Bowles contrives a prose with no confected richnesses or delicacies. Sometimes it is even trite in its phrasing as if, perhaps, the triteness were designed to invest a subject matter calculated to astonish with the aura of the usual and the commonplace.

Yet the chief impression these seventeen stories make is of the multiplicity and the unusualness of personal experience, out of which they have been written. Indeed, Mr. Bowles is occasionally so preoccupied with odd goings-on in North Africa or Latin America that his focus is on simple disorder. A Distant Episode and The Delicate Prey, for example, carefully understated and studiously horrid, capture only the meaningless violence of event.

Often, however, macabre anecdote rises to fiction in which the most frequent theme is the impact on Western and usually corrupt sensibilities of the primitive, but by no means virtuous, life of the Latin American hinterland or of what used to be called the mysterious East. This is no new subject. D. H. Lawrence used it magnificently in "The Plumed Serpent," in "The Woman Who Rode Away," and, in a European but pagan setting, in "The Lost Girl." But with a difference. The primitive culture was always, and however naively, seen as somehow good, and effete Westerners found wisdom and salvation in the impact even if, incidentally, it destroyed them. These characters are beyond wisdom and salvation. All that remains after the capture of the delicate prey by the savage and amoral force—and it remains powerfully and sharply in the memory—is the reader's feeling of helpless acquiescence in the spectacle of victimization and defeat. Helpless, for Mr. Bowles is an accomplished hypnotist. Our culture, he seems to be saying, so totters that any questioning of it, as the Indians question the missionary in Pastor Dowe at Tacaté, as the Arabs question the lady novelist in Tea on the Mountain, or, most powerful of all, as the corrupt child questions the father in Pages from Cold Point can shatter the individual and, by implication, the whole structure.

Most of the stories, as one might expect, depend heavily on external action which has its source in various kinds of barbaric violence. We learn little about what the characters think and feel. The natives act largely out of instinct; the Westerners all sound alike—cold, helpless, detached.

It is what is left unsaid and what is deliberately omitted that make me question my moderate but positive delight in these bare narratives with their entirely successful evocations of sinister pleasure domes and their consistent pessimism. Always they stop short just when some exploration of feeling or some exercise of judgment is necessary. Glenway Wescott wrote in "The Pilgrim Hawk": "Sometimes I entirely doubt my judgment in moral matters; and so long as I propose to be a story-teller, that is the whisper of the devil for me." The omission of judgment and the omission of feeling, indications surely of doubt and confusion, are the devil's whisper for Mr. Bowles, making his stories strangely remote—I do not refer to place—and less than the serious parables they are intended to be.

Outwardly the world of Elizabeth Pollet's first novel, "A Family Romance," has little resemblance to that so deftly evoked in "The Delicate Prey." Yet this quiet chronicle of a cultivated family, long settled in apparent and often real content in a placid New England countryside, has its own violence and disorder which arise out of a theme hardly startling, to be sure, but certainly universal: children must escape, one way or another, from the parents they love and hate.

This novel has positive virtues. Miss Pollet knows, for instance, what it feels like to be a seventeen-year-old girl, virginal, coltish, unhappy, advancing, half child, half woman, like pilgrims to cer-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tain famous shrines, three steps forward and two back toward the mysteries of adult life. Anyone who has survived such a state is likely to retain the knowledge of it. But Miss Pollet is able to recreate its special chaos without self-pity, pretentiousness, or confusion. She is equally convincing in her portrait of an older sister, virginal too, attracted toward and finally repelled into flight from a father capable, for the moment, of incest. There is also a little brother, an enchanting original owing nothing to Henry James or Elizabeth Bowen. The passionate and passion-torn father and the neurasthenic mother are less successful, not from a failure of understanding or compassion but because they are not recollected in the tranquillity of spirit that pervades most of the book. Unhappily there is a preposterous young man, a would-be husband of the younger sister, who is entirely unbelievable, probably because the author does not understand him as she does her other characters.

This is fresh and unpretentious writing with no airs or graces. It never imitates or raises its voice, although the admirably lucid prose takes account of all relevant lights and shadows. The children are presented in terms of a consistent and sustained ambiguity. Having created them, Miss Pollet appears to let them alone, and their behavior, however unpredictable, takes on an impressive inevitability. She does not resort to explanations. There are no Jamesian or Proustian profundities under the bland surfaces of this novel, nor were there intended to be; but there are depths and complexities of which the reader is made aware. And all this as if it were being spoken, clearly and calmly, in a sweet, low voice. ERNEST JONES

The Investigators Investigated

THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION. By Max Lowenthal. William Sloane Associates. $4.50.

IN 1861 Thomas Erskine May wrote in his "Constitutional History of England":

> Next in importance to personal freedom is immunity from suspicions and jealous observation. Men may be without restraints upon their liberty; they may pass to and fro at pleasure; but if their steps are tracked by spies and informers, their words noted down for crimination, their associates watched as conspirators, who shall say that they are free?

In 1940 Senator George Norris told the Senate:

> Unless we do something to stop this furor of adulation and praise as being omnipotent, we shall have an organization—the organization of the FBI—which instead of protecting our people from the evil acts of criminals will itself in the end direct the government by tyrannical force, as the history of the world shows has always been the case when secret police and secret detectives have been snooping around the homes of honest men. In my judgment, unless this procedure is stopped, the time will soon arrive when there will be a spy behind every stump and a detective in every closet in our land.

Max Lowenthal, a cautious lawyer, in this cold recapitulation of how the FBI became the fearsome organization Senator Norris predicted it would become, makes an effort at least to temper the adulation. It is up to the people and the Congress of the United States, with the wealth of material Mr. Lowenthal presents for their enlightenment and use, to put the FBI back where it was originally intended to be, and where Justice Robert H. Jackson attempted to put it when he was Attorney General—namely, at the limited and important tasks of investigation of violation of federal statutes and the collection of decent evidence honestly collected in cases in which the government is a party in interest.

Mr. Lowenthal details, with facts and testimony, the derelictions of the FBI from 1908, when Charles J. Bonaparte, Attorney General in the Cabinet of President Theodore Roosevelt, sneaked an investigating agency over on Congress while it wasn't watching carefully enough, until his book went to press last spring. J. Edgar Hoover, thirty-three years with the Department of Justice, active with the FBI since it was organized in its present form more than twenty-five years ago, was early the subject of criticism and commendation and has remained such. The well-documented account Mr. Lowenthal presents of both the FBI and Mr. Hoover is thoroughly unsavory but salutary reading for a democratic people. In fact, while reading his appalling indictment I had the impression that I was getting an indirect insight into the dreaded Lublianka, where the Russian counterpart of our own secret police operates without hindrance from press or legislature—an advantage Mr. Hoover must sometimes envy them. Mr. Lowenthal shows that from its early efforts to enforce the Mann act, through its arbitrary arrests during A. Mitchell Palmer's "red raids" soon after World War I, to its oppressive, busybody, and sometimes haphazard activities during and after World War II, this powerful investigating agency has displayed a spirit that is completely undemocratic and used methods that were sometimes illegal and frequently careless of the rights of its employers, the people of the United States.

J. Edgar Hoover emerges from this book as a quick man with an epithet, an able man at getting high-flown publicity, and a man with a disconcerting tendency to regard anyone who disagrees with his principles and tactics as an enemy of the Republic. Mr. Lowenthal's book tells a story of more and more greed for authority and power, necessitating more and more lurid publicity so that the money could be obtained to intrench the power that Thomas Erskine May and Senator Norris both feared. Mr. Hoover has never exhibited any sympathy for or understanding of the role of labor in this country and has had a constant tendency to regard a strike as *per se* subversive. Excerpts from his writings quoted by Mr. Lowenthal show a style that combines the worst elements of Westbrook Pegler and Gabriel Heatter.

Full investigation of the FBI itself, Mr. Lowenthal demonstrates, has always been stymied eventually, and Mr. Hoover and his minions have managed to hide their faults by insisting on the national importance of secrecy. The material in Mr. Lowenthal's book proves that we need an investigation of the FBI, and the book quotes a surprisingly large number of conservative critics of both the FBI and its director. There is obviously no love lost between local police and the FBI, which has interfered, often bunglingly, in their affairs. There is also no love lost between President Truman and Mr. Hoover, Mr. Lowenthal hints, and he points out that the President successfully kept our military intelligence services out of Mr. Hoover's grasping hands. However, even if Mr.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hoover were removed, the organization could still remain dangerous unless its limitations were prescribed and its efforts restrained.

Mr. Lowenthal leaves no doubt in any reader's mind that he has no use for the FBI or Mr. Hoover as they behave today and have behaved since the agency was organized. This book gives them credit for practically nothing. It would be a relief, as one turns the pages of the outrageous record, to read something good about them. But, then, maybe Mr. Lowenthal, who is a conscientious investigator himself, tried and failed to find the creditable. As it is, he often seems to be nailing both the FBI and its director to the stake with a quotation. It was high time such a document as Mr. Lowenthal's book appeared, especially in the current climate of ideological witch-hunting. Probably the book will be burned at American Legion conventions and Mr. Lowenthal will be vilified as a Communist, but there is no trace in the book that Mr. Lowenthal has done anything but a high patriotic service.

M. R. WERNER

The Man of Brumaire

NAPOLEON'S MEMOIRS. Edited by Somerset de Chair. Harper and Brothers. $7.50.

STRICTLY speaking, Napoleon never wrote memoirs. He had time enough at St. Helena, but he had no writer's patience, no scholar's gifts, such as Mr. Churchill notably possesses. He did indeed talk freely to everybody in his entourage at St. Helena, and he dictated more or less formally to two of his staff, Gourgaud and Montholon. In 1823 there appeared almost simultaneously in French and in English translation a "Memoirs of Napoleon" made up of these dictated materials. They were badly scrambled in terms of time and narrative, and full of odds and ends, some of them comments on military history of earlier periods. Somerset de Chair, an English writer long devoted to Napoleon, has in the present volume sorted over this dictated material, arranged it properly, altered the Emperor's Caesarean third person to the first person, added the only slightly less authenticated account of the Waterloo campaign smuggled out of St. Helena for publication in 1820, and produced a solid, consistent narrative of the years from 1795 to 1800, plus the Hundred Days of 1815. Only very pedantic historians or very reverential Bonapartists will regard this editorial work, considerable though it has been, as in any sense a tampering. These are essentially Napoleon's memoirs, and although they cover only about a third of his active political and military life, they are a perfect sampling of his methods, his personality, his attitude toward the world. They are detailed memoirs, by no means sketchy, and though Napoleon had no full archives with him, they seem generally accurate.

Everything in this book has, of course, been available to students since the original publication in 1823. All Somerset de Chair has done is to make this rather jumbled material available to the general reader. One wonders a bit how much interest such readers still have in Napoleon. No doubt the cult continues, but it must by this time have become a cult for connoisseurs, for fans, a way of passing time agreeably and certainly harmlessly. It seems hard to believe that anyone in our world is really influenced by Napoleon, really sees in him someone to emulate, a guide in actual living. He was one more aggressor in our Western state system, on the whole the most successful just because he was able to gain credit among his contemporaries for being something more than an aggressor or perturber, for being indeed on the side of the angels. But the man of Brumaire, the Machiavellian contriver of Campo Formio (on which he is very frank in these memoirs), the unappeasable annexer of lands and peoples, though he still touches something in men like Somerset de Chair that Hitler, for instance, clearly never touched, remains a bad man, and at bottom a shallow man.

The techniques by which Napoleon attempted to ride the wave of the future as he worked on his legend at St. Helena can still be instructive. But on the whole the rest of the St. Helena material, nicely summed up by Aubry, is more useful than are these memoirs. Still, there are some choice bits of propaganda here, such as the final words in which Napoleon regrets that at Waterloo the British aligned themselves in the cause of kings against people, privilege against equality, the Holy Alliance against the sovereignty of the people. Perhaps we should today be cheered by the fact that authoritarians and disturbers in general still claim to be on the side of the sovereign people. Propaganda is still the tribute vice pays to virtue.

CRANE BRINTON

Celine's Journey Continued

THE TWENTY-FIFTH HOUR. By C. Virgil Gheorghiu. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

"THE TWENTY-FIFTH HOUR," by C. Virgil Gheorghiu, is a social protest against the spiritual degradation of man by the machine. Part fiction, part sermon, it attempts, through the story of a small group of Nazi victims in the concentration camps, to reflect man's defeat by the forces of science he has unleashed. Originally written in the author's native Rumanian and first translated and published in France, the novel arrives in this country with the plaudits of some outstanding French intellectuals.

The author has been compared with Orwell and Koestler, but it seems to this reviewer that except for his awareness of the violence of modern times his resemblance to these writers is slight. In Orwell and Koestler there is frequently a deep and genuine sympathy for man's fate, whereas in Gheorghiu a feverish self-pity and a kind of mental self-flagellation dominate. A more valid comparison could be made with Céline, who also asserts—with much more force and effect, however—that man should not have "left the jungle." And while Gheorghiu lacks something of Céline's artistic power and impact, his prejudices, like Céline's, are conspicuous. There are moments in the novel when Gheorghiu, in search of his own primitive "ethos," succeeds in recreating the suffocating atmosphere of the Nazi charnel house, but more often than not the drama sinks to melodrama and the tension breaks into hysteria.

The chief protagonist of the novel is Johann Moritz, a simple, inarticulate Rumanian peasant who is sent to a concentration camp—on the false accusation of being a Jew—by a Nazi officer who covets his beautiful wife. In one concentration camp after another Johann endures suffering, deceit, and betrayal without losing either his essential innocence or his deep humanity. His

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

counterpart is Traian Koruga (the author), son of an orthodox priest and a sophisticated intellectual with some influence in the hierarchy, who in his obsession with his "natural man" exhausts every last desperate effort to rescue Johann.

But while Johann, in his goodness and naivete, emerges in the novel as an individual character and a real human being, he fails to fulfil the author's intention of symbolizing the "natural man" pitted against modern technology with its logical extension, the concentration camp. This failure is due to Gheorghiu's inability to deal with the lot of more than his immediate characters; he is utterly incapable of taking into account the total situation of Nazified Europe. Moreover, his concern with these characters is schematic rather than human; they mean nothing to him in themselves, and have value only in so far as they project his own highly personal attitudes.

This artistic limitation is evinced even more sharply in Gheoghiu's treatment of Traian's father, the orthodox priest, who ostensibly is given a noble and humane character. But it is precisely this character which it is impossible to reconcile with his single-minded preoccupation with one man while millions perish. On this score a certain ambiguity is present. It is impossible to determine whether the obtuseness of the character is a quality consciously assigned to the priest or whether it represents a fundamental obstruction in the author's vision of humanity. It would seem that the latter is the more probable, since the author strives to make the priest a warm and convincing person.

Gheorghiu is generally more successful with his minor characters. Unencumbered by preconceived notions and raw prejudices, in these instances the author's limited conception of human nature and human motivations expands. Where his prejudices take hold, his slight artistic grasp slips away altogether. And his moral preachments not only fail to palliate these artistic failures but by their very malice accentuate them, apart from the fact that they are in themselves highly objectionable.

This tendency toward cruelty in the midst of moral posturing is felt most keenly when Gheorghiu selects for description unrepresentative Jewish types. In all the thirty-five concentration camps through which Johann is dragged, including Dachau, he is persistently victimized by every Jew he meets. It is curious that he encounters not a single Jew worthy of esteem. Singularly, for an author who inveighs against a mechanistic civilization, he invests his Jews with every known mechanical physical stereotype.

The sense of shallowness and stereotyped thinking in the author is not diminished by his parade of modern culture. At times this exhibition of *à la mode* awareness appears ludicrous. On one occasion Traian, piled into a truck with seventy men, crushed beneath their weight, plies the simple Johann with questions that the latter can obviously not answer. When Johann complains, "I am suffocating to death. I am going to die," Traian insists, "Answer me. Have you heard of Picasso?"

These modish allusions—the book is liberally sprinkled with names like T. S. Eliot, Auden, Rilke, *et al.*—served only one purpose as far as this reviewer was concerned. It sharpened for him the memory of a really great eclectic, James Joyce, who drew from Dublin's street a Jew, an ordinary advertising salesman, and raised him to the stature of classical tragedy. Bloom incarnates the universal tragic Jew. But Gheorghiu, who lived in the midst of a great tragedy, Hitler's extermination camps, and who boasts of having "a sixth sense," adds only to the gallery of conventional Jewish portraits. It is confounding that a man could live through this inferno and emerge with his prejudices intact and, perhaps, reinforced.

ELIEZER GREENBERG

Books in Brief

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE SOUTHWEST, INDIAN, SPANISH, AMERICAN. By Trent Elwood Sanford. Norton. $5. Photographs and comments by an informed traveler. Handsome and readable but more like a guidebook than the systematic account which the title seems to promise.

THE LAND OF LITTLE RAIN. Text by Mary Austin. Photographs by Ansel Adams. Houghton Mifflin. $6. Mr. Adams's striking photographs in the stark, f64 manner afford an additional reason for again putting into print a book which was both its author's best and one of the few successful attempts to make the feel of a country the subject of a literary work.

THE WRATH OF ACHILLES. By I. A. Richards. Norton. $2.50. This is a new abridged translation of Homer's "Iliad," cuts having been made for the sake of the run of the narrative. To suit his purpose, Mr. Richards has used what he calls a general-utility prose, a medium not only useful for punching out the story in a straightforward manner, but also capable of considerable beauty, as in the scene of Book XIV where Hera and Sleep come to Zeus. Mr. Richards's introductory remarks on the hero—"he is the first character in literature who has definitely embarked on the endless venture of self-knowledge"—and his discussion of the problems confronting translators are directly put and of great interest.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE supply of genuine wit, strictly fresh and with no artificial coloring or flavor, is very small—and there's an extraordinary amount of it in "Bless You All" (Mark Hellinger Theater). We have come to expect good things from Harold Rome (music and lyrics), Arnold Auerbach (sketches), and Oliver Smith (who presents), and it's pleasant to record that they have done it again.

What's more, they have found in Mary McCarty a performer who is perfectly suited to their style of fun. She is attractive rather than pretty, she has personality; she walks in humor, so to speak, and she has a streak of wildness that gives edge and suspense to everything she undertakes.

Then there is Pearl Bailey (those hands and that high-school-junior look

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR
Just Arrived! I. V. MICHURIN
SELECTED WORKS IN AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE
In English — 496 pp. — $2.75
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-50
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

withal!). There is also Jules Munshin, marvelously loose-jointed and very amusing in his own overriding way—he, incidentally, is more Broadwayish, more movie-radio-and-televisionish, than anyone else in the show except Valerie Bettis. There is Byron Palmer, who is tall, dark, and handsome, has a nice true voice and doesn't mind if its resonance shows; and finally there is Jane Harvey, who also has a nice voice and actually creates a small drama as she sings a very effective song called "Take Off the Coat."

The funniest thing in "Bless You All" is the sketch called Southern Fried Chekhov in which Marybelle (McCarty), the daughter of a decaying aristocratic family, refuses to write a book about the South. She remains adamant, even though she is reminded of the great success of one of the family's efforts entitled "As I Lay Rotting." As part of the décor, Marmaduke, the son, is deployed on a settee to look like that famous photograph of Truman Capote some years back. This is a delicious bit. The other high point is a hilarious and definitive spoof on the P. T. A., but there are several other numbers that make one glad to be present.

I could have done without Valerie Bettis; and she was mostly involved in "art" numbers that could well be dispensed with. "Desert Flame," in particular, displays more effort than point.

25% Less than List on LP Records
Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-14
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum). SAME-DAY SHIPMENT.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON McCORMICK
MAJESTIC Thea., 44 St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

MOZART'S Quartets K.387 and 464—less frequently played than others of the six dedicated to Haydn, but not less wonderful pieces of music—are on a Capitol LP record (P-8106) played by the Calvet Quartet with a refinement and delicacy of tone and phraseological nuance which gets to be excessive at times. Bass must be stepped up in the first work, treble in the second; surfaces are noisy.

Schubert's Quintet Opus 114 ("Trout") for piano and strings, parts of which are very beautiful, gains as a whole by the remarkably fine ensemble playing of members of the Vienna Octet on a London record (LLP-223). Bass must be reduced; the sound of the violin is thin and wiry.

For those who like Brahms's chamber music I report an adequate performance of the seldom-heard Horn Trio Opus 40 by a French trio on a Mercury record (MG-15015) with noisy surfaces; and an excellent performance of the all-too-frequently heard Piano Quintet Opus 34 by Curzon and the Budapest Quartet on a Columbia record which reproduces it with somewhat brash and sharp violin sound.

Prokofiev's Quartet Opus 92, which has a beautifully lyrical middle movement, is on a Mercury record (MG-10045) well played by the Fine Arts Quartet. Surfaces are quiet; but a Shostakovitch trio is on the reverse side.

Copland's Violin Sonata, of which I find only the slow introduction and middle movement engaging, and Stravinsky's Duo Concertant, which I find completely uninteresting, are excellently performed by Joseph Fuchs and Leo Smit on a Decca record (DL-8503).

Those for whom Varèse's "Integrales," "Ionizations," "Octandre," and "Density 21.5" make sense will find what seem to be excellent performances of them by René Le Roy and the Juilliard Percussion Orchestra and New York Wind Ensemble under Frederic Waldman on an E. M. S. record (401).

Of Ives's Violin Sonata No. 2, well played by Elliot Magaziner and Frank Glazer on a Polymusic record (1001), the first movement—for me—rambles on uninterestingly, the second is amusing in its fooling around with village-fiddler styles and snatches of tunes, and the slow section of the third is lovely. The Largo for piano, violin, and clarinet played by Glazer, Magaziner, and David Weber I find meaningless. And of the orchestral pieces well played by a chamber orchestra under Vladimir Cherniavsky—"Over the Pavements," "The Unanswered Question," "Hallowe'en," and "Central Park in the Dark Some Forty Years Ago"—I find only the string passages of "The Unanswered Question" lovely.

Beautiful playing by Gerald Caylor, clarinet, Don Christlieb, bassoon, and the Los Angeles Chamber Symphony under Harold Byrns are wasted on Strauss's garrulous reminiscences of his style in his Duet-Concertino (1948) on a Capitol record (P-8115). An inconsequential Honegger Concerto da Camera is on the reverse side.

On the other hand the seven Canzonas for single and double brass choirs by Giovanni Gabrieli (1557-1612) on an Esoteric record (503) are magnificent as played by the New York Brass Ensemble under Samuel Baron.

Listening to Berlioz's "Te Deum" for the first time, at the final New York concert of Beecham and his Royal Philharmonic, I was surprised to hear music that was pleasantly undistinguished—by which I mean, among other things, that it lacked the distinguishing characteristics of the Berlioz works I already knew. Only in the *Dignare* did I begin to hear them in what I recall now as the manipulation of a short melodic figure in a texture filled with subtle marvels. And in the *Judex crederis* a powerful ostinato phrase first sung drably by the men was built up in a crescendo with increasing splendor to a great climax.

The men of the Schola Cantorum sounded pretty drab at all times; but the women's voices were more charming to the ear. As for the orchestra, I heard one of the great brass sections of the world and a group of first-rate woodwinds; but the string tone that reached my ear had no luster. I thought the reason might be the curtains on the stage; but a friend who is an experienced musician and string player sat close enough to be able to hear that no luster was being produced by the players and to see that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they looked dispirited and downright unhappy. She was close enough also to observe the operation of Beecham, which she thought might account for the players' looking unhappy.

A word, finally, about the new dancers who appeared with the New York City Ballet. First, Harold Lang, whom I recall as an accomplished performer in the classical "Waltz Academy" as well as in "Fancy Free," but who after a few years in musical shows now has a Broadway comedy style which is exactly right for "Jones Beach" but entirely wrong for "Bourrée fantasque," and a sock-whiz-bang violence which is disastrous to the classical "Symphony in C." Then Diana Adams, whose long-limbed body, so well-matched with Le Clercq's, and lovely style contributed to the new beauty of "Symphonie Concertante." And lastly Hugh Laing, who gave good performances in "Illuminations" but a much less than good one in "The Prodigal Son." Its basic defect was its failure to project the character's youthfulness—which had nothing to do with Laing's own age (one need only recall the young bride in "Le Baiser de la fée" miraculously created by the forty-and-more-year-old Danilova). In addition there was the tentativeness and timidity in the dancing—not only in the early dances that should be robust and confident, but in the pas de deux and in the slow movements after the despoiling. Laing's effective moments were those of his activity in inactivity: from the first moment of the siren's entrance he kept himself involved with her, watching with intent fascination as she danced; and he continued this active involvement during the servants' dance, stealing a look at her and dropping his eyes when they met hers. It was very good—but very little in the entire performance.

CONTRIBUTORS

ROLFE HUMPHRIES is the author of several books of poetry. The most recent is "Forbid Thy Ravens."

M. R. WERNER is a journalist and biographer.

CRANE BRINTON is professor of history at Harvard University.

ELIEZER GREENBERG has published five books of poetry and criticism in Yiddish and is coeditor of *Getseltn.*

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Effective Censorship

Dear Sirs: I believe that in refusing to renew my visa to the United States your government is penalizing me for opinions which I expressed in my recently published book, Volume I of "Whither the American People?"

In June, 1949, after more than two years in the United States, I had to interrupt my study of American social problems and return to France because of the death of my father. I later applied to the United States consulate for an immigration visa in order to complete my work and see my family—my wife and daughter are permanent residents in the United States, and my mother-in-law is an American citizen. In June of this year, after fifteen months' delay, the consul informed me that my request had been denied. This occurred a few weeks after the appearance of the first volume of my book in the "Temps Modernes" series edited by Jean-Paul Sartre.

My literary activity is a matter of public record. Among other books, I have written "Fascism and Big Business," a study of Fascism in Italy and Germany which is being used as a textbook in several American colleges and which was quoted in the United States government publication "Fascism in Europe." My opinions were known before my last visit to the United States and were no obstacle then to my obtaining a visitor's visa. Besides, I have been able to prove beyond any doubt that I have never had any connection with Moscow or its agents.

By making it impossible for me to complete my second volume in the United States your government is exercising a kind of censorship on my writings that should not exist in a free country. To be sure, I might say some things which would not please everybody, but that is one of the privileges as well as one of the risks of democracy.

DANIEL GUERIN

Paris, December 6

Internal Union Affair

Dear Sirs: In his article "Labor's Semi-divided House," in *The Nation* of October 21, Howard K. Smith referred to headlines in the papers in the current week dealing with the "continued wave of petty, irresponsible strikes, which in no case so far have been against capitalist employers but in all cases against the Labor administrators of public industries—the London bus system, the Scottish coal mines, the London gas plants."

In the matter of the London bus strike we did not strike against the "Labor administration of a public industry" but against the executive of the Transport and General Workers' Union, which had refused point-blank to negotiate a wage increase on our behalf and accepted changes in working conditions against the wishes of the majority of bus men—who form only a small group in the T. A. G. W. Union. We had previously sent a sick-pay resolution through the correct channels and at the time of the dispute were awaiting the verdict of a court of arbitration.

The strike was an internal union affair. The issue was the right of union members to use the machinery of negotiation.

Since our domestic press is probably 90 per cent anti-Socialist, its emphasis on "petty . . . strikes" in publicly controlled industries is not surprising. A strike of printers—not employees of a publicly controlled industry—though it affected millions of people all over Great Britain, passed off, I believe, without a single headline.

ARTHUR MOYSE

London, November 10

The Trouble with Liberals

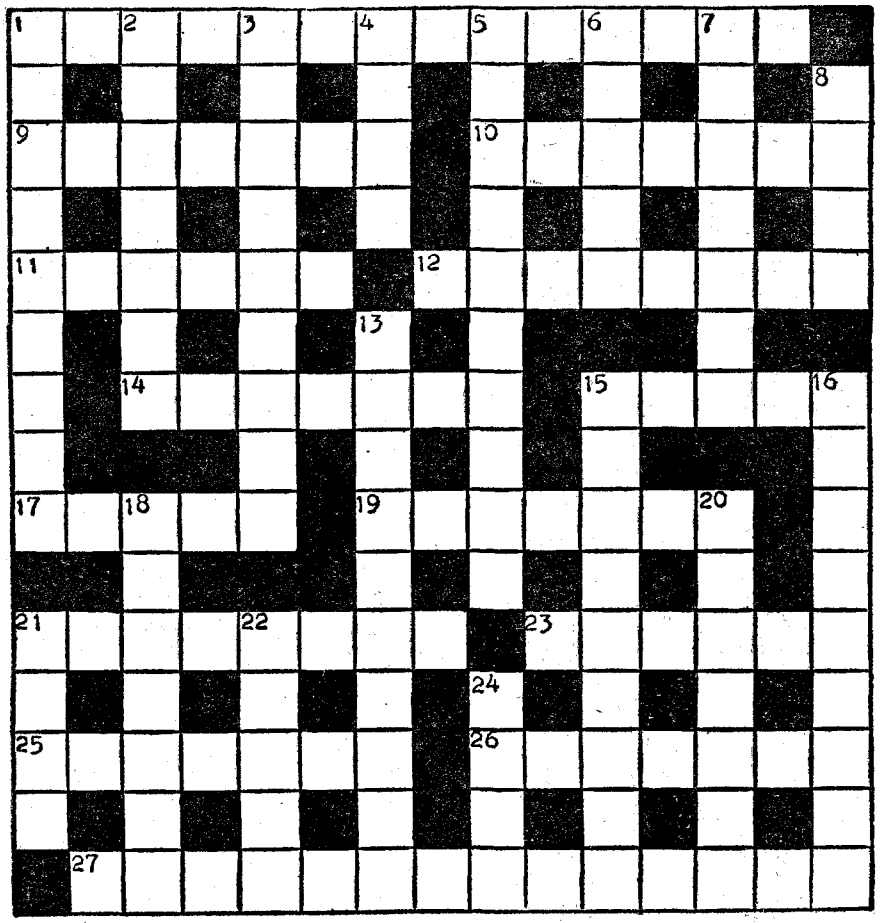
Dear Sirs: Francis Goodell's letter in your issue of December 2 raises questions which liberals have never fully answered in any country. To achieve success, however, they must try to answer them, or at least reach some agreement as to primary objectives. Irving Howe concisely states the trouble with American liberals in his review of "The Lonely Crowd" by David Riesman in the same issue. Howe writes that Riesman "goes along with that mild optimistic ameliorism which has so incapacitated American liberalism."

As to where the labor and liberal movements are heading, the answer is ultimately nowhere, if their final objective is to obtain concessions for the working class from government and business. At some time opposing interests will refuse further concessions. And assuming a broad program of aid has been put in force, financed by high taxes on profits and unearned incomes; there will always remain the threat of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 393

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 1 down.
9 It implies encrusted flesh. (4-3)
10 A figure can go to a sort of it. (7)
11 The confusion of war at a Pacific island. (6)
12 See 1 down.
14 Made out of macaroni without a name. (7)
15 Stunt. (5)
17 Kicked out of Oxford? A horse might be, by the sound of it! (5)
19 Model Latin Freshmen in '95? (7)
21 Typhoid Mary and the mailman are not the common type. (8)
23 See 27.
25 Responsible for a Consul of note. (7)
26 Followers of Marx like his leer! (7)
27 and 23. Proving the difficulty of Latin construction! (4, 5, 5, 2, 1, 3)

DOWN

1, 12, 22 and 1 across. Evidently Elsinore's surroundings are spoiling. (9, 2, 6, 2, 3, 5, 2, 7)
2 One makes a ragman of itself. (7)
3 Authorized. (9)
4 Leaf insect. (4)
5 Gas, oil, etc., I refine rather selfishly. (10)
6 Tom rises to get in an appropriate word or so. (5)
7 A target is shattered in this contest. (7)
8 Shortly unknown shortly. (4)
13 Artistic performance in a musical instrument. (10)
15 Engrave? Quite the opposite! (9)
16 It makes slips regularly. (Would two be a pair of pliers?) (9)
18 Get from the hill on to the city. (7)
20 Medical staffs. (7)
21 Not the toothsome part of the rooster! (4)
22 See 1 down.
24 Gone like Petri, for example. (4)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 392

ACROSS:—5 CARVER; 9 RAMPART; 10 BARKLEY; 11 MYNHEER; 12 INSTALL; 13 CASH REGISTERS; 15 and 23 THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING; 21 A PRIORI; 22 SHATTER; 24 GRIMACE; 25 DAMAGE; 26 ASSERTED.

DOWN:—1 SHRIMP; 2 ALMANAC; 3 LEADERS; 4 WATERPROOFING; 6 ARRESTS; 7 and 1 across VILLAGE SWALLOWS; 8 ROYALIST; 10 BRIDGE OF SIGHS; 14 STRAPPED; 16 EARLDOM; 17 ROOFING; 18 TEATIME; 19 EXTRACT; 20 FRIEND.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

its being halted by a change in public sentiment or some calamity such as war or depression.

A Labor Party should be organized here even though its immediate hopes of success would be as small as was that of the Labor Representation Committee formed by MacDonald in 1900. The unions would be just as reluctant to join a new organization which could promise little in the way of immediate gains as they were in England. But eventually they would join, as they saw that its leaders were chiefly concerned with their economic improvement and were indebted to no other interests.

In the beginning no definitely socialist policy need be adopted. But when it became clear that no further gains could be made through present procedures, the liberal and labor movements would have an organization ready to take the necessary step toward socialism. Above all, if this country faced another major depression, a Labor Party could help insure that neither the extreme right nor the forces of communism would rise to power. The party would be ready to channel the country's unrest into constructive efforts.

Liberals in America are dissipating their strength by their adherence to the present party system. Their haphazard support of this or that issue or this or that candidate accomplishes nothing, for later they cannot depend on those they supported. The potential for a new party undoubtedly exists, and if some liberal group undertook to form one, without expecting sudden national success, it might in time be able to build up an organization, present candidates, and become a force in Congress.

FRANK DVORSHAK

Dodson, Mont., December 5

Freedom to Advertise

Dear Sirs: May I express my appreciation for your publication, on the back cover of your December 2 issue, of the advertisement of the Committee to Defend the Eleven—that is, the eleven Communist leaders. While this was a straight commercial transaction, fear has paralyzed so many liberals, not to speak of people who regard themselves as independent minded conservatives, that even the conclusion of an ordinary business transaction involving Communists becomes something unusual.

The record would not be complete without some mention of the publications that rejected our advertisement, which stated a very elementary constitu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tional proposition—defense of the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights. Publications which apparently don't believe that the Communists have the freedom of advertising permitted to a department store or an electric-power trust include the *New Republic*, the New York *Post*, the New York *Times*, and the New York *Herald Tribune*. To their honor, *The Nation* and the *Daily Compass* accepted the advertisement as an ordinary piece of business. Representatives of out-of-state newspapers have also indicated that they may print it.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN,
Chairman, Committee to
Defend the Eleven

New York, December 8

Sacrifice for Security

Dear Sirs: Present United States policies have been officially justified on grounds of rectitude and security. But how well have these ends been served? In Korea, we are exposing our most vulnerable flanks and are inviting an attack in Europe. We are systematically destroying the confidence in American leadership of our Western European allies, to whom our conduct appears devoid of both reason and morality. We are proceeding further along the path of alienating friends and allies by demolishing constitutional liberties. American security is inextricably linked to democratic values. In the process of destroying them we are inevitably achieving an uncanny likeness to the Soviet system, from which free men almost everywhere have recoiled.

We are blissfully unaware in this headlong, psychopathic, suicidal rush that we are actually erasing the features of strongest appeal to our system of free men everywhere.

RICHARD ARENS

Buffalo, N. Y., December 1

Imagination in Printing

Dear Sirs: In his review of Delmore Schwartz's new book of poems, "Vaudeville for a Princess," Rolfe Humphries speaks of the "arty" format of the book. For his information I would like to point out that this "arty" volume received a citation from the Trade Book Clinic of the American Institute of Graphic Arts. The book was designed by S. A. Jacobs of the Golden Eagle Press, whose typographic work is outstanding for its freshness and originality. Your excellent reviewer often praises imagination in verse, why should he deny it to the printers?

JAMES LAUGHLIN

Norfolk, Conn., December 10

Laski Letters

Dear Sirs: I am collecting material for a biographical memoir of Professor Harold J. Laski and am anxious to see letters and material which throw light on his life and his opinions. He was a prolific letter-writer and had many friends in the United States. I should be most grateful if anyone who has preserved his letters or other material concerning him would lend them to me. All letters and manuscripts will be copied and carefully returned at once. They should be sent to me in care of the Viking Press, 18 East Forty-eighth Street, New York.

KINGSLEY MARTIN,
Editor, *New Statesman and Nation*

London, December 1

PERSONALS

YOUNG professional couple want to sublet three- or four-room furnished apartment for January and February. Phone: DIgby 4-0600.

LADY, idealistic, intelligent, interested in Art, fine literature, world events, would discuss these with mature individual. Address: P. O. Box 234, Philadelphia 5, Pa.

Buy Your Books through *The Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price postfree if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

RESORTS

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge

Ridgefield, Conn. • Phone 820
A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for winter vacations and weekends. Mile-long lake for skating. Skiing nearby. Roaring fireplaces, television, recordings. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

Colorful! Gay! Exciting!

that's FALL at the Glenmere!
join wonderful people!

the Glenmere

Chester, N.Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: CHester 200 N.Y.: REctor 2-5947

LAKECREST

"Your Home in the Country"

Colorful countryside • Seasonable sports
All comforts and conveniences • Moderate rates • Plus our traditional hospitality

On Hunn's Lake Stanfordville, N. Y.
Only 90 miles from N. Y. C.
EVA BERG, Director Stanfordville 2982-2098

HATHAWAY LODGE

For a delightful rest midst the mountain grandeur of the "Hills of the Sky," vacation at Hathaway. You'll enjoy this magnificent lodge on the 592-acre former Macy estate 2500 ft. high atop the Northern Catskills. Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Our food is famed, bounteous and delicious. Winding mountain trails for horseback riding, hiking, strolling. Recordings, ping-pong, library, informal dancing. Easy transportation. For adults. Holiday reservations now.

ATTRACTIVE WINTER RATES
For reservations or booklet write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone Tannersville 299

WINTER VACATION NEARBY
A gay Winter holiday awaits you at Forest House. All sports in a winter wonderland at famous Lake Mahopac. Fine cuisine, excellent accommodations, warm hospitality.
FOREST House
LAKE MAHOPAC, N. Y., TEL. MAHOPAC 8-3688

FURNISHED ROOMS

THE ARIZONA, 508 West 114th Street (opposite Columbia University). Fireproof. Singles and doubles. Weekly and daily rates. Hotel, switchboard service.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

WRITERS!—Book mss. wanted for publication, fiction, non-fiction. Free booklet. Write today! Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. 16.

Classified Advertising Rates

74¢ A LINE (SIX WORDS)
Minimum three lines
Box No. counted as three words
Remittance must accompany all orders

THE NATION
20 Vesey St. • New York City 7 • BA 7-1066

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE Nation

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine $9.50
You Save $2.50

☐ *with* Consumer Reports $10.75
You Save $1.25

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine
and Consumer Reports $13.25
You Save $3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE Nation *by itself:*

☐ One Year $7 ☐ Two Years $12 ☐ Three Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra

The NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
  ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

_____

_____

_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE____ STATE_____

12/30/50

SPECIAL NOTICE TO READERS:

To Subscribers:

Nation subscribers should give us at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

Please cooperate by renewing your current subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration.

To Newsstand Readers:

The only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only insure prompt receipt of your copy but save considerable money.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED